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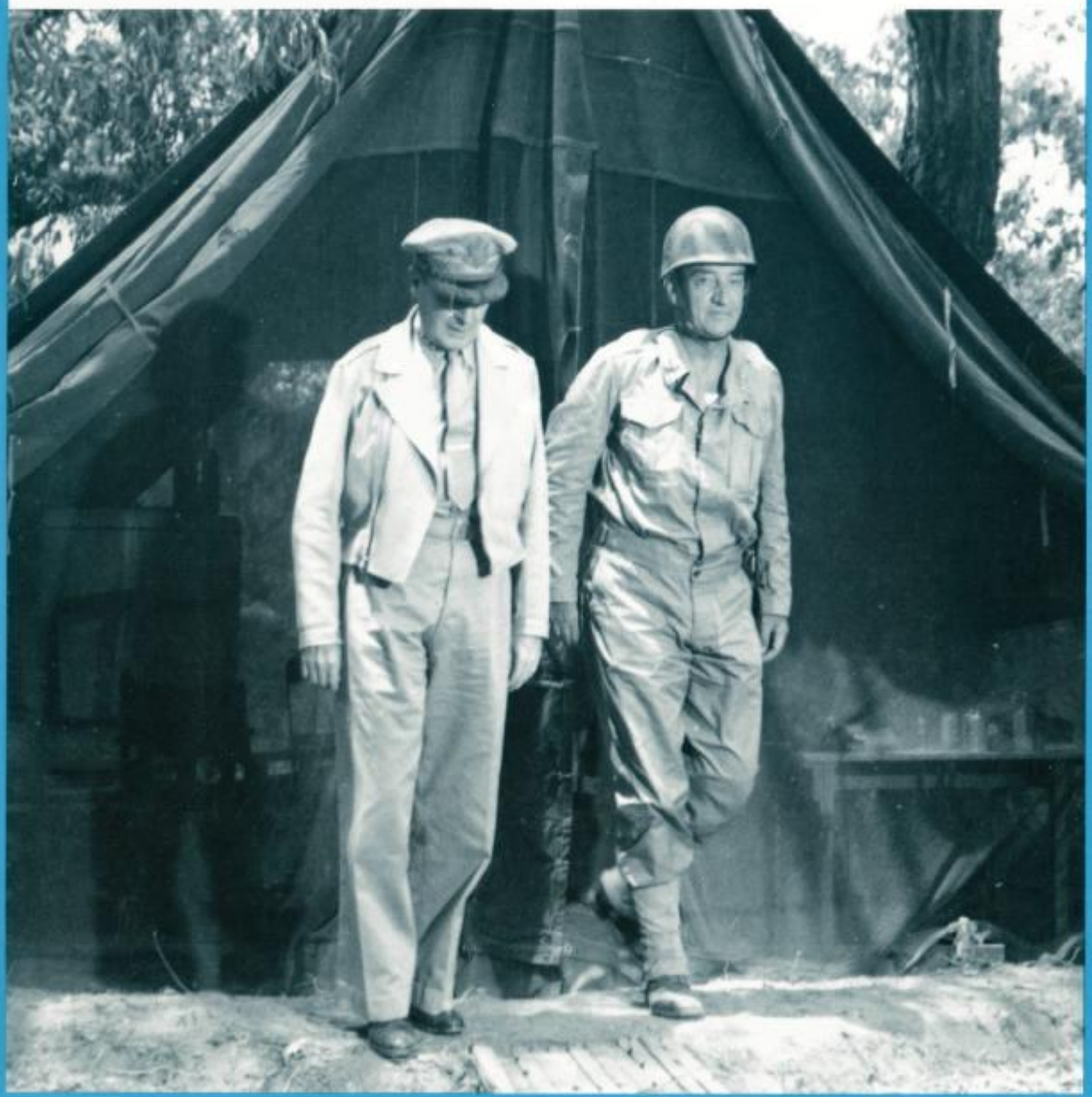

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On the cover: *General Douglas MacArthur (left) and another general, probably Robert L. Eichelberger, leaving to review troops in the South Pacific. An article on the 32nd Division's participation in the Buna campaign begins on page 109. Photo from the Phillip Fox La Follette scrapbooks.*

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*Editor*
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# The Red Star

## Official Soviet Proclamation!

### *Instructions To Citizens Released*



Legion Now Is Entirely Dead

*Confiscation of Autos Ordered*

History of Stalin, Our Valiant Leader

Mosinee YCL Set to Meet

*Proclamation*

*The* Mosinee Times *printed a pink-hued newspaper,* The Red Star, *as part of the mock-takeover of the community by Communists on May Day, 1950.*

# Springtime for Stalin: Mosinee's "Day Under Communism" As Cold War Pageantry

*By Richard M. Fried*

"COME out with your hands on your head! I represent the Council of People's Commissars and we're taking over this town." This order rang out not in the czarist St. Petersburg of 1917, nor in the streets of Prague in 1948, but from the mayor's front porch in Mosinee, Wisconsin, on May Day, 1950. No true Communists, these "commissars" were actually leaders of the American Legion seeking to dramatize the Red menace and the liberties which would be lost in the event of the real thing.

Coming within a year of China's fall to communism and the USSR's detonation of its first atomic bomb, not yet four months after Alger Hiss's conviction for perjury and only three after Senator Joe McCarthy launched his campaign against Reds in government, Mosinee's "Day Under Communism" had obvious timeliness. For forty-eight hours, newspapers, radio, and television brought the tiny papermill hamlet unprecedented national and even international attention.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: My thanks to all those who aided in the research for this article, including John O. Holzhueter, George Johnson, Grace O'Connor, and Professors James J. Lorence, James L. Baughman, Harold Josephson, and Charles H. McCormick.

Though the vast media coverage of Mosinee's political passion play treated it as a unique occurrence—as in some ways it was—the event took place in an evolving context. It was but one of many instances of anti-communist pageantry in America during what might be termed the "high" Cold War, from 1945 to the early 1960's. By 1950, promoters of anti-communism and patriotism had developed several varieties of pageantry. Led by local politicians or civic and fraternal organizations like the Elks and Jaycees, cities such as Los Angeles in 1946, Honolulu in 1950, and Kansas City, Missouri, for a week in 1948 held rallies, parades, and other observances to focus critical attention on communism. Back in the 1920's, scattered Veterans of Foreign Wars posts had conducted Loyalty Day patriotic exercises to preempt May Day from the Left, but these efforts drew little attention until 1948, a year of mounting global tension in which VFW-sponsored Loyalty Day parades in New York City attracted vast crowds of marchers and onlookers and effectively upstaged the Communists' May Day celebration. Loyalty Day soon became a national phenomenon.

Similarly, the Freedom Train stimulated huge outpourings of civic and patriotic activity. This grand scheme germinated in the U.S. Justice Department under Attor-

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ney General Tom C. Clark. In 1946, disturbed by what he perceived as a postwar civic and moral letdown, punctuated by juvenile delinquency, "alien ideologies," and other "unrest," Clark called together blue-chip leaders of business, the media, and other fields to consider his idea. Keenly responsive, the group established the American Heritage Foundation to manage the Freedom Train project.[1] On September 17, 1947, a sleek streamliner left Philadelphia carrying original drafts of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and other charters of American liberties on a tour of all forty-eight states which lasted until January, 1949. Public enthusiasm ran high; nearly 4 million Americans toured the train at stops in 325 cities, and countless others were turned away.

Every town heralded the Freedom Train's arrival with myriad activities: parades, pageants, mass renditions of the "Freedom Pledge," joint labor-management luncheons and rallies, "Freedom Sunday" sermons, functions for schoolchildren and other civic rites. The Freedom Train's visit to Wisconsin in 1948, which coincided with the state's extensive centennial observances, had the Badger State in a celebratory mode.

But for sheer dramaturgy and originality, no civic endeavor of the Cold War era equalled Mosinee's mock Communist takeover. It captivated national attention and for a time inspired anti-communists to suspect they had invented a striking new way to instill a Cold War civic educational message. To the genre of anti-communist pageantry, Mosinee had added a startling, uniquely dystopian fantasy.[2]

EARLY in 1950, John Decker first conceived of demonstrating the feel of a day under communism. A lawyer, former Milwaukee assistant city attorney, and active member of the American Legion, Decker was one of the cohort of World War II veterans just coming into influence in that World War I organization in Wisconsin. He was no dissenter from the Legion's muscular anti-communism, but he sought to put the case "on a more intellectual basis." In an age when education, notably embodied in the GI Bill, was "the theme of the day," he hoped to "elevate the debate to reach minds we hadn't reached." While returning from a Legion function in January, 1950, with his friend Paul Thielen, state Legion public relations director and editor of the *Badger Legionnaire*, Decker mused that enacting a mock Communist takeover would vivify the precious liberties which would be forfeit in the event of a real Communist triumph. Thielen was smitten with the idea, and the two decided to act.[3]

At its February meeting, the state Legion's public relations commission took up the scheme enthusiastically. They chose Mosinee as a venue for the pageant. The small Marathon County town offered several advantages. In the first place, Brigadier General Francis Schweinler, a member of the Legion's state Americanism committee, owned and edited the *Mosinee Times*. Schweinler avidly supported the proposal and was well situated to sell it to towns-

[1] "The First Two Years: A Progress Report to the Board of Trustees of the American Heritage Foundation," July 1, 1949, box 10, Records of the American Heritage Foundation, Record Group 200, National Archives and Records Administration, Suitland, Maryland (hereinafter cited as AHF Records); "Address by Honorable Tom C. Clark at Bill of Rights Luncheon in the Office of the Attorney General," December 10, 1946, box 210, *ibid.*

[2] Difficult as it is to compare diverse sorts of public display and celebration, it seems safe to say that Mosinee's only rivals were the Freedom Train, the pageantry attending the homecoming of General Douglas MacArthur after President Truman fired him in 1951, and the Civil War Centennial of 1961–1965.

[3] Interview with Judge John Decker, February 14, 1988; "Background Information on American Legion 'Communist Day' Project," n.d. [April, 1950], box 30, Wisconsin Department American Legion Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (hereinafter cited as WDAL Papers); Paul Thielen to Jack Cejnar, March 8, 1950, *ibid.*

people. He could mobilize the local Legion in an era when the Legion virtually "*was* the small town." Mosinee was ideally sized and situated. Its population was about 1,400. Staging such political theater in a large city would create severe logistical problems and an impracticable level of disruption. Moreover, in a metropolis, Communists would surely contest such a symbolic offensive. Detroit Police Commissioner Edwin Morgan, who took a keen interest in the Mosinee program, echoed such fears: to stage such a pageant in his own city would be "dangerous" since both Communists and "criminal elements" would exploit it. As Wisconsin's State Legion Commander pointed out, Mosinee was "a typical American community, far removed from the scenes where Communists normally are active." In a small town, whose compact "power structure" all breakfasted at the same cafe, communication was easy. Remote, with just three roads into town, and bordered on one side by the Wisconsin River, Mosinee enabled pageant leaders to control access.[4] The sponsors scheduled the pageant for May 1, a day that suggested itself "because it traditionally is a Communist holiday."[5]

In late February, Thielen and Decker journeyed to Mosinee and, with Schweinler, briefed ten leaders on the still-secret proposal. These members of the local elite included a former mayor and owner of Mosinee's second biggest store, a co-owner of the department store and former chamber of commerce president, the manager of the phone company, the general manager and assistant general manager of the Mosinee Paper Mill, the owner of the Mosinee Land, Log and Timber Company, presidents of the two AFL locals at the papermill, the president of the Lions Club, and the current head of the chamber of commerce. Four were active Legionnaires. Schweinler had already sounded out these men, and they provisionally endorsed the idea if it did not entail insurmountable costs or other obstacles. They now approved the concept and asked leaders of the state Legion to draw up a scenario. Although enthusiasm was far from universal, practical rather than philosophical concerns apparently troubled some local leaders.[6]

The as-yet-unformed scheme was broached to national Legion officials in Indianapolis. Entranced by the potential for favorable publicity, the latter reacted enthusiastically. Indeed, this orientation altered the project's focus. Its inventors, while not averse to publicity, originally had local education in mind; but Indianapolis headquarters officials saw the coup in a more national context as a public relations bonanza. Jack Cejnar, a national Legion public relations functionary, termed the pageant "colossal" in its "dramatic possibilities." When he took up the idea with an official at *Life* magazine, the latter, in language indicative of the shifting sense of the project's purpose, exclaimed, "Why didn't I think of such a stunt?"[7]

The hope that national media would embrace the pageant, which promised a

[4] Decker interview; telephone interview with Brig. Gen. Francis Schweinler, February 4, 1988; Paul F. Thielen to Francis Schweinler, February 2, 1950, box 30, WDAL; *Mosinee Times*, April 19, May 10, 1950. For the strong anti-communist tenor of the locale's political culture, see Howard R. Klueter and James J. Lorence, *Woodlot and Ballot Box: Marathon County in the Twentieth Century* (Wausau, 1977), 364–367.

[5] *Mosinee Times*, April 19, 1950 (from the *Milwaukee Sentinel*); Schweinler interview; Decker interview. However, no one intended the choice of date as an effort to trump the VFW's Loyalty Day observances.

[6] Thielen to Schweinler and Schweinler to Thielen, both February 17, 1950; Thielen, memorandum to Public Relations Commission, March 2, 1950; "Background Information on American Legion 'Communist Day' Pageant," n.d. [April, 1950], all in box 30, WDAL Papers; Decker interview.

[7] Thielen to Schweinler, February 2, 1950; Kenneth Greenquist to Thielen, February 21, 1950; Cejnar to Thielen, March 6, 1950, all in box 30, WDAL Papers.

"smashing pictorial story," soon bore fruit. *Look* magazine asked for, but was denied an exclusive. *Life* quickly committed itself to coverage. The Hearst-owned *Milwaukee Sentinel* planned to treat the occasion "like a National Convention with photographers and several reporters to touch upon it from all angles—women's angles, treatment of kids, etc."[8]

BY early March, Wisconsin Legion leaders—Thielen primarily—had roughed out a script. It cast out-of-town Legionnaires in the role of Communists. "They will have to be strange faces not familiar to the town's people." National Legion headquarters suggested specific touches: cardboard padlocks on the churches and signs proclaiming "God is now outlawed"; dissolving all non-Communist organizations; promulgating a labor code requiring a twelve-hour day at reduced wages; imposing strict police control over ingress and egress; and erecting a barbed-wire stockade to house enemies of the new regime. Sponsors of the "Day Under Communism" incorporated many of these suggestions into their plans.[9]

In Mosinee, Schweinler mobilized the community. On April 12 he invited sixty-seven representatives of various groups to a meeting to consider "a program that can be of tremendous importance to all of us." The plan was still secret, because national Legion headquarters expressed "some fears lest this Mosinee stunt should backfire on us." Thielen, Decker, and Jack Cejnar from national headquarters revealed the plan to the sixty-five invitees who attended the meeting in the Legion's club rooms.[10]

Initially, local support fell short of ecstatic. Some skepticism had been voiced early on, and Thielen found reactions of civic leaders on February 28 "still mixed." Mosinee's Democratic Mayor Ralph Kronenwetter had qualms. The scheme struck him as a "Republican idea." Conceivably, the rising clamor over Wisconsin Senator Joe McCarthy's first charges of Communists in the State Department dampened his zeal.[11] After the fact, the Communist party's newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, with an obvious ax to grind, quoted a "prom-inent townsman" as saying that "most people here were only lukewarm to the whole idea."[12] A few Mosineeans wondered whether pageant publicity might not endanger some townspeople's relatives behind the Iron Curtain. Schweinler's *Mosinee Times* reported that some residents with "wrong impressions" of the scheme had been "loud in their condemnation of it," but most were "favorable." Resistance generally was slight. Kronenwetter chose to go along with a project that had considerable community support.

Despite their quibbling, the community leaders at the April 12 meeting "agreed to

[8] William B. Arthur to Thielen, March 10, 1950; Thielen to Arthur, March 15, 1950; Thielen to Cejnar, March 7, 1950; Thielen to Schweinler, April 3, 1950, all in *ibid.*

[9] Thielen to Greenquist, March 2, 1950; Cejnar to Thielen, March 6, 1950, both in *ibid.*

[10] Thielen to Schweinler, April 7, 1950; Schweinler to "Dear Sir or Madam," April 8, 1950; Thielen to G. E. Sipple, April 13, 1950, all in *ibid.*; *Mosinee Times*, April 12, 1950. Mosinee's Bohnsdahl-Gustin Post had just completed a new Legion hall in the center of town. See *American Legion Magazine*, vol. 48 (June, 1950), 32.

[11] Despite the thematic convergence, neither Senator McCarthy nor any other politician had any connection with the pageant. Decker interview.

[12] The *Mosinee Times* reported that Kronenwetter "had his qualms about 'Red Day' and in all honesty made them well known. ..." The *Daily Worker* claimed Kronenwetter "viewed the whole vicious project with disgust and distaste. ..." On the other hand, Carl Gewiss, Mosinee's police chief in 1950 and a friend of the mayor's, recalled no such opposition. "Background Information on American Legion 'Communist Day' Project," n.d. [April, 1950], box 30, WDAL Papers; *Daily Worker*, May 7, 1950; telephone interview with Irene Kronenwetter, August 18, 1977; *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; interview with Gewiss, August 17, 1977.

cooperate." The pageant was on, with Schweinler its general chairman. To ensure against adverse consequences, sponsors stressed that participation would be entirely voluntary. Those willing to take part would wear badges—cardboard red stars—so indicating.[13]

Mosinee was soon hosting outside talent. In March national Legion headquarters lined up ex-Communist Joseph Zack Kornfeder of Detroit as an expert consultant. A Slovakian tailor who came to the United States in 1917, Kornfeder had joined the Communist party in 1919. He received three years' training (1927–1930) at Moscow's Lenin School "in the various methods of political warfare" and was then posted as "Comintern delegate to South America." Kornfeder broke with the party in 1934. He soon joined an emergent new species in American politics, the ex-Communist witness. He testified before the Dies Committee, its successor the House Un-American Activities Committee, and other such bodies. He advised and wrote on how to combat communism, though less prominently than Whittaker Chambers or Louis Budenz. Pageant sparkplug Thielen described Kornfeder as "a former Russian spy" who might "be able to lend authenticity to many of our actions."[14]

The national Legion also arranged to involve Ben Gitlow in the pageant. Gitlow had a briefer but loftier Communist party career than Kornfeder. From a Socialist and IWW background, he had helped found the American communist movement. At his 1919 trial under New York's anti-syndicalism law, his bold defense of the communist credo earned him a prison sentence but also honorary membership in the Moscow soviet and a prestigious place in the Communist International. He served as general secretary of the American Communist party and as its vice-presidential candidate. In 1929, however, he lined up on the losing side of Stalin's struggle with Nikolai Bukharin, and before long he lost his Comintern positions and was drummed out of the American Communist party. Gitlow too became a redoubtable foe of communism.[15]

Francis Schweinler indicated that both Gitlow and Kornfeder would donate their services out of "devotion to the anti-Communist cause." However, the role of the two ex-Bolsheviks prompted some misgivings in Wisconsin, for it seemed both an intrusion by professional anti-communists into a previously amateur program and an effort by the national Legion to inject itself into the project.[16]

Kornfeder played a larger role than Gitlow, serving as the pageant's "chief commissar" and "technical advisor." Decker and Thielen took him to Mosinee for the April 12 planning session. He was entrusted with designing such paraphernalia as entry and exit permits, ration coupons, and forms for nationalizing enterprises. On April 22, he returned to work full-time. "As chief commissar in Mosinee," Kornfeder claimed, "I was doing just what I learned in Lenin

[13] Schweinler to author, February 29, 1988; *Mosinee Times*, April 19, 1950; "Background Information on American Legion 'Communist Day' Pageant," box 30, WDAL Papers; *Minneapolis Tribune*, April 30, 1950.

[14] Thielen to Schweinler, April 3, 1950, box 30, WDAL Papers. On Kornfeder, see Herbert L. Packer, *Ex-Communist Witnesses* (Stanford, 1962), 202; Ralph Lord Roy, *Communism in the Churches* (New York, 1960), 235–236; Robert K. Carr, *The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945–1950* (Ithaca, 1952), 331; Kornfeder to Robert Humphreys, February 15, 1954, November 27, 1961, in box 3, Humphreys Papers, Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas. For a more jaundiced view, see the *Daily Worker*, April 21 and 25, 1948.

[15] See Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York, 1957); and Benjamin Gitlow, *The Whole of Their Lives* (New York, 1948).

[16] The ex-Communists were viewed as having career motives to serve by their involvement in the pageant. *Madison Capital Times*, May 1, 1950; Decker interview.

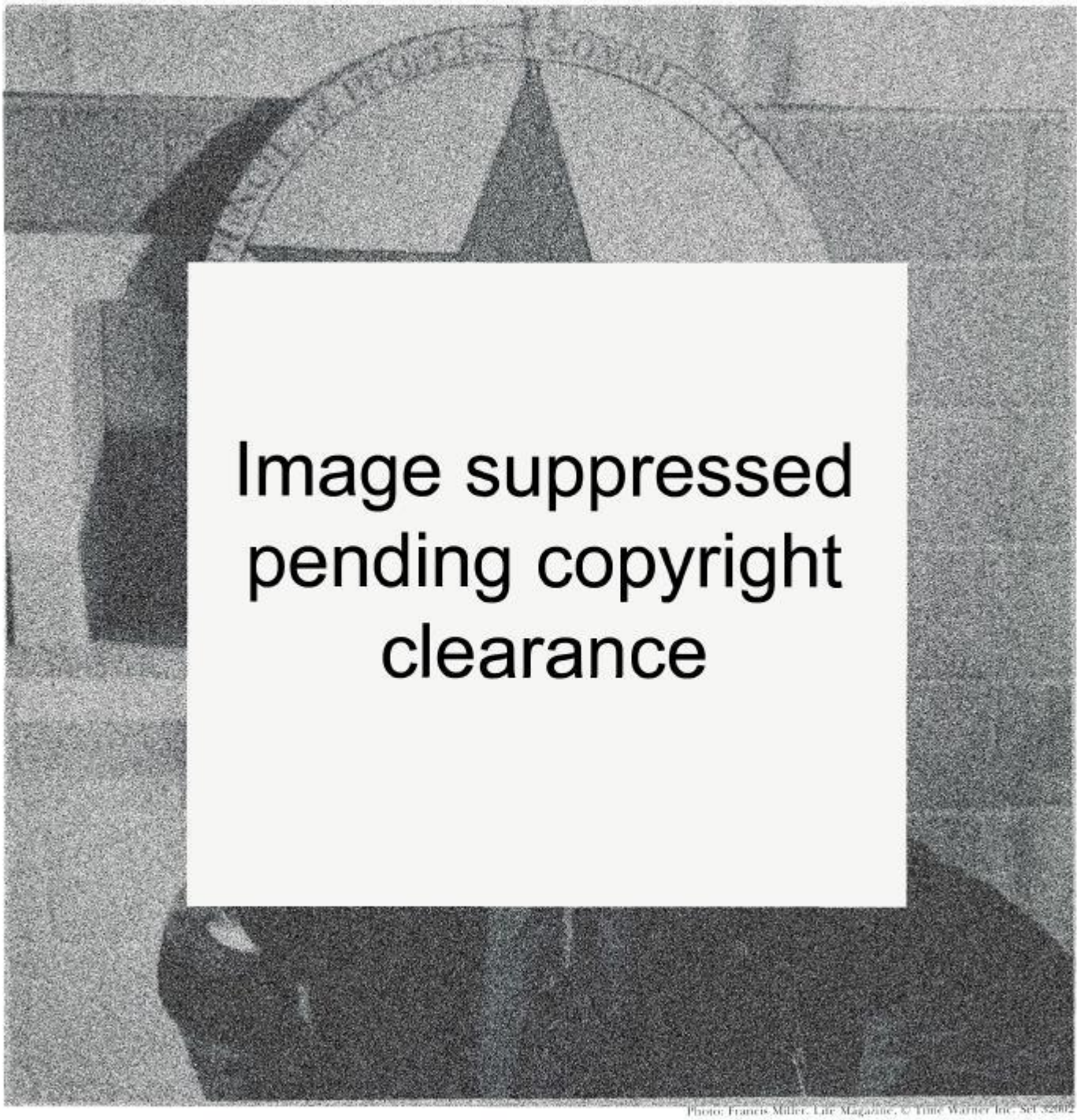


Photo: Francis Miller, Life Magazine, © Time Warner Inc. Set 32602

*Joseph Zack Kornfeder scowling at the camera as part of his role as the chief commissar taking over Mosinee.*

University: Use force to gain command, and then stamp out freedom."[17]

ON April 12, plans for Mosinee's "Day Under Communism" became public—and met an overwhelmingly positive response. Thielen boasted that with "national picture magazines and picture and news services" covering the event, "the entire nation will be watching Mosinee on May 1." It was "a safe bet that 90% of the daily newspapers in America" would run stories. The *Mosinee Times* claimed that the initial story appeared in over 1,200 American newspapers, received play on all radio networks "coast-to-coast," and even got Kate Smith's endorsement on her national radio show.[18] Seeking details, a Legion official in Fort Smith, Arkansas, declared, "We want to do it here." The general manager of station WFHR in Wisconsin Rapids called the idea a "honey" that would win Mosinee "nationwide, if not world wide, publicity." A *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter inquired whether he needed a passport to attend. Laudatory letters poured in from around the country and even from abroad. "Never in the history of this nation," Francis Schweinler exclaimed, "has a small community had the news coverage, except for a catastroph[e], that Mosinee will have for their 'Day Under Communism.'" Residents were reportedly "happy, excited and more than a little proud" of the publicity.[19]

The media did, indeed, flock to Mosinee. Nearly sixty newspeople registered, and probably others attended without completing that formality. CBS, NBC and the Mutual Broadcasting System sent television correspondents, and several radio stations dispatched reporters. Paramount and Fox-Movietone News recorded the action; photographers snapped pictures for Acme Pictures and International News Photos; and reporters from the INS, AP, and UP wire services were on hand. Personnel from *Life*, *Readers' Digest*, and other magazines checked in. Among newspapers represented were the *New York Journal-American*, *Detroit News*, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and both the *Tribune* and the *Sun-Times* of Chicago. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* sent a reporter who normally covered the United Nations. Many in-state papers and both Milwaukee dailies sent reporters, as did the Soviet news agency TASS. The Voice of America intended to carry the story around the world. "The entire civilized world today knows of the capitulation of this paper-making community," boasted the Wausau paper. After the event, a local columnist hailed the presence in Mosinee of "men who have interviewed and written about presidents, congressmen, millionaires, murderers and great projects."[20]

PAGEANT leaders planned for other contingencies than the media. Though Mosinee was 100% American, it crossed some minds that real Communists might try to interfere. A state Legion leader raised such concerns, but then belittled them as "rather far-fetched."

[17] Thielen to Ralph Alderson, April 17, 1950; Thielen to Schweinler, April 3, 1950; Thielen to Kornfeder, April 13, 1950; Thielen to Schweinler, April 17, 1950, all in box 30, WDAL Papers; *Harvester World* (June, 1950), 11.

[18] Thielen press release, n.d. [April 12, 1950]; Thielen to Ralph Alderson, April 17, 1950, both in box 30, WDAL Papers; *Mosinee Times*, April 26, 1950.

[19] *Mosinee Times*, April 19 and 26, 1950; *Milwaukee Journal*, April 30, 1950.

[20] "Press Registration for Mosinee's May Day," n.d., box 30, WDAL Papers; *Badger Legionnaire* (May, 1950), 4, and *ibid.* (June, 1950), 1; *Milwaukee Journal*, April 30, 1950; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 1, 1950; *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950. Two men claiming ties with the *Houston Chronicle* were a source of minor scandal. They were reportedly "regarded with considerable suspicion by other newsmen as well as local onlookers"; their story actually appeared in *Kiwanis Magazine*, "with undertones which might fit the writings in the Daily Worker." See *Mosinee Times*, August 2, 1950.

Mosinee's police chief also downplayed the likelihood of Communist meddling. "They don't seem to be operating out in the open these days." He worried more that "some of the boys might do too much celebrating in the taverns." On the other hand, the Legion's national Americanism director advised against publicizing the event too far in advance lest the Communists find a way to exploit it.[21] Sponsors discarded plans to display large pictures of Stalin lest foreigners, through either their own gullibility or nefarious Communist designs, gain an impression that the Soviet leader had a following in Mosinee.[22]

Mosinee residents also learned of the plan on April 12. Some were skeptical. "When the plan was announced a week ago, it was so startling in its implications and possibilities that a great many folks in the community were unable to grasp it," conceded chairman Schweinler. "But since then our people have more and more grasped it and understand it, and now are for it." Still, one person complained that the pageant had been "railroaded through and announced via an issue of the weekly newspaper," without approval by the citizens or their elected representatives. *Life* reported that "the few who grumbled and objected that the stunt was 'foolishness' were allowed to go about their business unmolested."

Activity picked up when Kornfeder arrived on April 22 to devote full time to the pageant. A full synopsis of May Day's activities was published in the *Mosinee Times* on April 26.[23] Anticipation mounted as Legion "Communists" and newspeople crowded into town. April 30 afforded time for last-minute preparations and some staged pre-revolutionary drama—and for a surprise appearance by real Communists.

In the wee hours of that Sunday morning, six authentic Reds offered a rebuttal. Sneaking into town unseen, they left literature on Mosinee doorsteps. One flier queried, "So This Is Supposed to be Communism. Says Who?" The answer was "THE BOSS—the guy who owns the mills," plus "AMERICAN LEGION BIG SHOTS" and "STOOLPIGEONS." *Real* communism would build "a society in which the mills are owned by the men who work in them. There are no bosses." Moreover, communism "guaranteed everyone the right to go to his own church" and to "speak his mind without fear of losing his job." Communism offered "equality and brotherhood." But "money-men" purveyed lies about communism in order to profit from "a Hell-Bomb war against the Soviet Union" and to break unions through redbaiting. Another handbill advised anyone desiring to know the reality of communism to attend a May Day meeting in Milwaukee.[24]

Mystery enshrouded the when and how of this leafleting. Legion leaders thought the deed had been perpetrated between 2 and 4 A.M., but the chief of police noted that snow had fallen after midnight and yet no tracks were found. He therefore deduced that the miscreants had done their work before the dog watch.

Pageant sponsors expressed alarm. "This shows how well the Communists are organized in this country," Ben Gitlow warned. He pledged to "strengthen our security

[21] John F. O'Melia to Thielen, March 21, 1950; Cejnar to Thielen, April 7, 1950, both in box 30, WDAL Papers; *Milwaukee Journal*, April 30, 1950.

[22] Thielen to Cejnar, March 9, 1950; Cejnar to William B. Arthur, March 8, 1950; Cejnar to Thielen, April 17, 1950; Thielen to Schweinler, April 18, 1950, all in box 30, WDAL Papers.

[23] *Mosinee Times*, April 12, 19 and 26, 1950; Beatrice Stepner letter to *Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1950; *Life*, May 15, 1950, p. 47.

[24] Copies of the *Sunday Worker* were also left. See "So This Is Supposed to be Communism," a flier issued by the Communist Party of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, and "For Peace—May Day 1950," both at the Dessert Library, Mosinee; *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 1, 1950 (clipping, *ibid.*); *Des Moines Register*, May 1, 1950; *New York Times*, May 1, 1950.

measures immediately to prevent any possible demonstrations." A member of the Legion's Americanism commission said he would accompany police on patrols of the town "just in case." Detroit's Police Commissioner Edwin Morgan, who came to witness the pageant to pick up tips on how to crush Communist plots in the Motor City, found sobering this proof that "the CPUSA's underground organization is also at work, now, in Marathon County, Wis., just as it is in every other county in the United States." Chairman Schweinler averred that the leaflets steeled the resolve of Mosinee's people. "It made them really realize that they were engaged in an important job."[25]

Plans moved ahead despite the Reds' intrusion. On Sunday night a crowd of media representatives and residents witnessed a "dramatization of the organizational preparations of communist party 'cells'" plotting the next day's takeover. At the Legion hall, Comrades Gitlow and Kornfeder spouted rhetoric worthy of Lenin at the Smolny Institute. They had not lost their grasp of revolutionary idiom, though they did seem unaware of the irony that this fantasy was as close as they would come to their youthful dreams.

Gitlow provided a plenary session of the "Central Executive Committee" with a glowing summary of progress. Under "our great Stalin, the Communists have moved from one glorious victory to another." The "warmad, blood-thirsty, fascist-minded American government" little realized how close to doom were its efforts to set up "an open fascist dictatorship." Soon "the sweet wine of revenge against our capitalist exploiters and oppressors will be ours. We count the hours when the poor and downtrodden workers will rise and overthrow the whole rotten regime of the United States." "Comrades," exulted Gitlow, "our hour has come." Chief commissar Kornfeder then filled in the insurrectionary details, warning of the need for absolute security.[26] Thus inspired, the one-day Reds made ready for the next morning's excitement.

SOON after 6 A.M. on May Day—carefully, stealthily, accompanied by many of the sixty-odd journalists on hand—Red plotters crept up to their first target, Mayor Ralph Kronenwetter's home near the corner of Fourth and Main streets. Kornfeder, a short, stocky man in a derby hat, approached the house with five gun-toting men, each wearing an armband labeled "Security Police" and bearing a red star. "Come out with your hands on your head," Kornfeder shouted. The squad burst into the house, and Kornfeder announced that the Council of People's Commissars was taking over the town.

"What for?" asked the mayor.

"You want to live, you are going to do what we ask you," Kornfedder riposted. "We ask you to make a statement for us."

As the mayor perused the script, the commissar warned him he would have to recite it regardless of its contents. "Meanwhile, we take you down to the barbed-wire camp."

So the Communist toughs rousted the mayor, clad in bathrobe and polka-dot pajamas, out into the cold dawn. Some photographers missed the shot, and others thought the scene needed more graphic roughness, so captors and captive obliged with several reenactments.

Meeting his fate with aplomb, Mayor Kronenwetter used the occasion to announce plans to seek the Democratic nomi-

[25] *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 1, 1950; Gewiss interview; *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 1, 1950; *Mosinee Times*, May 10, 1950; *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1, 1950; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 1, 1950.

[26] *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Harvester World* (June, 1950), 11; Gitlow, "Report on the Plan of Armed Insurrection," n.d. [April 30, 1950], folder 5, box 5, Gitlow Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford, California; Carl Cederberg broadcast for WWJ (Detroit), copy courtesy of Grace O'Connor, librarian of Mosinee Senior High School.

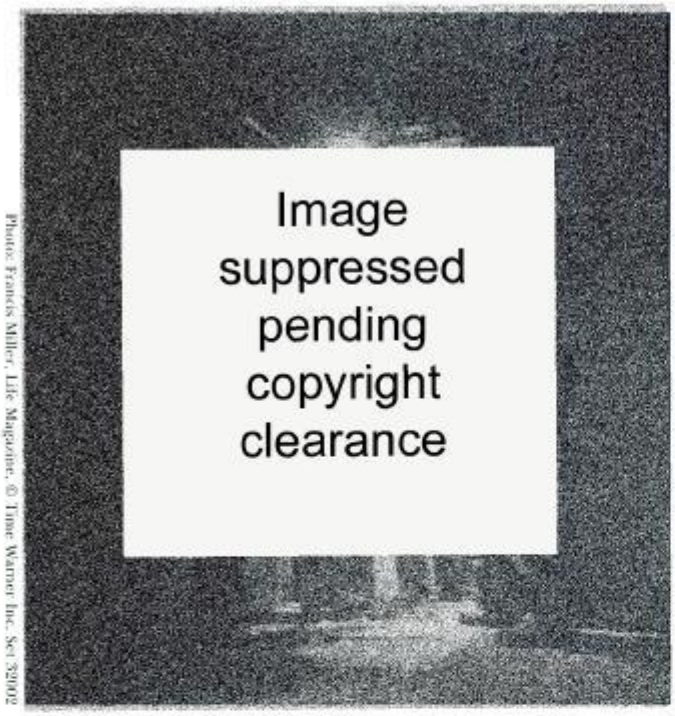


Photo: Francis Miller, Life Magazine, © Time Warner Inc. Sec 3202

*Rousting the pajama-clad Mayor Kronenwetter, who took the occasion to announce his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Congress.*

nation for Congress in this Republican district. Asked if he thought that real Communists had bored into the federal government, the mayor replied, "Senator McCarthy is just headline hunting."

A second raiding party captured Police Chief Carl Gewiss. "Well, you rat, you're under arrest," said Ben Gitlow. Taken to city hall, the chief was ordered to surrender his two-man police force. Refusing, he was "shot." (This scripted death freed him to take over directing traffic. Some fifty police from nearby towns had come in to assist with crowd control.) Swiftly, Communists seized the powerhouse of the Mosinee Paper Mill. They arrested clergymen and tossed them into the stockade with the mayor and other enemies of the regime. Particularly stagy was the violation of Emanuel Lutheran Church, where Reds interrupted a sermon the pastor was preaching—to a congregation largely of journalists. Later, the Reds rounded up Reverend Will La Drew Bennett of the Methodist church, who had publicly hidden his Bible the day before as part of the festivities.[27]

In short order, an obtrusive Soviet apparatus was in place. Three roadblocks cut off access to Mosinee. Cars were searched and willing drivers hassled; others were allowed to come and go as they pleased. Before the pageant, sponsors had issued a number of documents—identification forms and entry, exit, ration, gasoline, and camera permits—which citizens were required to produce when accosted. Propaganda banners flapped and billowed over Main Street.

Communism's culinary aspect drew especial media attention. Restaurants served a uniform diet of potato soup, black bread, coffee—and nothing else. (Eventually menus broadened "under the pressure of competition.") Grocery stores enforced rationing; a black market in sugar soon arose. A *Milwaukee Journal* photographer snapped a six-year-old wistfully eyeing a sign in a store that read: "Candy for Communist Youth Members Only." Ten-cent bags of popcorn shot up to sixty cents. Finding the new regime's diet irksome, some Mosineeans drove to Wausau for a capitalist meal. Other modes of consumption swiftly reflected the change in regime. The dollar was devalued; prices skyrocketed. Suits that sold the day before at $42 were marked up to $252.

Another team of Reds barged into the offices of the *Mosinee Times*, where Schweinler, in his capacity as owner, awaited them. Reviling him as "an enemy of the people," Kornfeder arrested him. "So it has come to this, has it?" Schweinler postured. With seizure of the telegraph and telephone

[27] The other Lutheran church and the Catholic church declined to enter into the fantasy. "They just didn't like the idea," said Rev. Bennett. Chronology, "It Happened One Day in Mosinee," n.d. [April, 1950], folder 5, box 5, Gitlow Papers; *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1, 1950, and May 1, 1983; clipping, May 1, 1950, at Dessert Library, Mosinee.

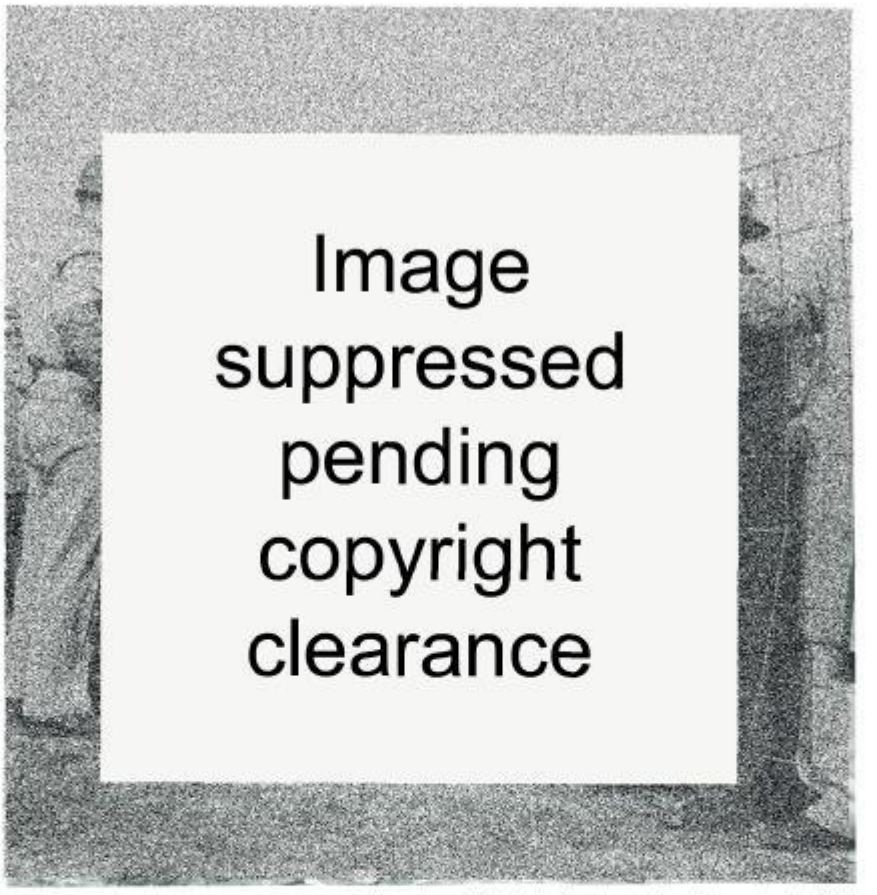


Photo: Francis Miller, Life Magazine, © Time Warner Inc. Set 32002

*The community's civic and religious leaders standing in the stockade.*

offices, Communist control of communications was absolute. A *New York Times* reporter did manage to put a call through from New York, thereby exposing a flaw in the operation. A spokesman for the new regime attributed the slip-up to the local phone company's "reactionary attitude" (as well as Federal Communications Commission rules).[28]

[28] *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1 and 2, 1950; Cederburg radio broadcast, WWJ; *New York Times*, May 2, 1950; *Washington Post*, May 1 and 2, 1950; *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 2, 1950.

The *Mosinee Times* presses had already run off a pink-hued newspaper, *The Red Star*. The front page featured a photo of "Our Valiant Leader" Joseph Stalin and a biographical sketch pronouncing him "the Red Star of the Universe, beloved of all humanity!!!" A proclamation issued by the United Soviet States of America declared an end to private property; confiscation of land and other assets; annulment of the Constitution and other "bourgeois government" enactments; voiding of all debts, legal obligations and U.S. money; and proscription of all political parties but the Communist. Voluntary organizations, including

Photo: Francis Miller, Life Magazine, © Time Warner Inc. Set 39002

*Interrogating Police Chief Carl Gewiss.*

the American Legion, of course, were abolished, as were all churches. The new labor code forbade strikes, instituted piecework, and required workers "to contribute to the State four extra hours of labor without compensation."

*The Red Star* contained a long, didactic manifesto aiming to show how so tiny a group could hope to maintain itself in power.[29] It foretold creation of an elite Military Security Police whose members "must be trained to be cruel and heartless towards the people," a separate and superior Secret Political Police answering to Moscow, and slave labor camps. References to "cadres," "Trotskyist and Titoist elements," "social fascists" and "class-collaborationist" elements added verisimilitude, although a notice that "Pig" Schweinler and his newspaper had been marked for extinction betrayed a degree of local boosterism.

MOSINEE'S first morning under Red rule culminated in a parade downtown to a mass meeting. The high school band set the cadence, and marchers, including schoolchildren, carried signs with such messages as "Competition is waste," "Stalin is the leader," and "Religion is the opium of the people." Estimates of the number of marchers ranged from 500 to 1,500; the Wausau police guessed 700. One observer thought the paraders looked "a little bewildered." Riding in a sound truck, Commissar Kornfeder sought to instill allegiance to the new regime. "Little boy," he barked out to one diminutive onlooker, "bow to the red flag." At "Red Square," the mayor urged the crowd to submit to the new regime in order to avert bloodshed. He introduced Kornfeder, who issued a proclamation. Then Gitlow, to a mixture of boos and cheers, announced the Soviet retroseizure of Alaska and the imminent overthrow of capitalism.[30]

Other dramatic scenes ensued. A raiding squad burst into the public library, seized "objectionable" books, often from readers whose surprise was rehearsed, and heaved them into the street. Minions of the new order confiscated guns belonging to a tavern-owner—a very provocative act among North Woods hunters. In the afternoon,

[29] A difficult cognitive issue was the matter of whence these Communists had come. An epic poem inspired by first reports of the pageant imagined a landing by "giant aircraft" which "woke the citizens, with great alarm." But *chef de pageant* Schweinler said: "In theory they are our own people. They have fallen under Communistic influence and now they have risen up in insurrection." Kornfeder had alluded to "the orders of the military organization" of the CPUSA, but the point received little emphasis. The planners had insisted that the "commissars" be from out of town, for to have neighbor arrest neighbor would lack the desired effect. *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 2, 1950; Cederburg broadcast, May 1, 1950, WWJ.

[30] Cederberg broadcast, WWJ; "It Happened One Day in Mosinee," folder 5, box 5, Gitlow Papers; *Milwaukee Journal*, April 30 and May 1, 1950; *Madison Capital Times*, May 1, 1950.

Photo: Francis Miller, Life Magazine, © Time Warner Inc. Set 32002

*Marching papermill employees off to a concentration camp after the company was nationalized.*

high school students likewise encountered communism. Gitlow harangued the Young Communist League, all wearing armbands and white shirts, as to their duty to struggle against religion and family ties and cultivate a "fanatical" revolutionary zeal. The Mosinee Paper Mill was nationalized, its board of directors ousted. At 1:30 P.M., the revolutionaries straddled a jeep across the railroad tracks, halted the Milwaukee Road's southbound Hiawatha, held its engineer at gunpoint, and let it go on only after scrutinizing and harassing the passengers. That night, at the movie house, renamed "The People's Theatre," commissars interrupted a showing of *Guilty of Treason*, a film about Hungarian Cardinal Mindszenty's travail under Communist rule, and substituted one featuring Stalin.[31]

After dusk, Mosineeans gathered in Red Square for the bonfire and rally that ended Soviet rule. The scenario called for "loyal Americans from all parts of Mosinee and Marathon County" to attend and for "'Communists' [to] cast aside their subversive roles and [to] join in raising of the American flag." All posters, banners, and paraphernalia which signified subjection to communism were thrown into the fire. This ritual cleansing, the most heavily symbol-laden of the day's activities, was meant to have a cathartic effect. It rid the town of "something that was impure," said Schweinler. "We are purging our city of all evidences of the 'occupation' by clean fire."

Charles Larson, state commander of the

[31] Handwritten speech, n.d., "The Young Communist League Is the Mass Organization of the Youth," folder 5, box 5, Gitlow Papers, Hoover Institution; "It Happened One Day in Mosinee," *ibid.*; *Harvester World* (June, 1950), 8; *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 1, 1950.

Legion, gave the main address. Unlike Communists, who made "all individuals subservient to the state," said Larson, "we believe in the dignity of every human being ... regardless of his social or economic position." While such traditional patriotic oratory anchored the speech, a few twists in it might have surprised left-wing or even liberal critics. Though Marx had called religion "the opiate of the people," said Larson, it was Jesus, by exalting "the equality of man," who was the true revolutionary. Indeed, this tenet inspired Thomas Jefferson and the rebels of 1776. Quoting General Dwight D. Eisenhower on the indivisibility of American freedoms, Larson cautioned against those who "in their anxiety to preserve democracy would pass Legislation curtailing one or more of these freedoms." Vigilance against Communist subversion was essential, "yet we may not lose sight of the fact that we cannot produce a fine garden merely by pulling weeds."

The script called next for the crowd (estimated at from 1,500 to as high as 3,000) to sing "God Bless America" and "start peacefully home thankful to God that they live in AMERICA." One of the Legionnaires remarked that it was a relief "to see the flag at night and realize it had been a game and not a reality." Schweinler recalled that many Mosineeans left the rally with tears in their eyes, deeply appreciative of their American freedoms.[32]

TWO grisly realities broke the spell of fantasy. As he climbed out of his car at the evening rally, Mayor Kronenwetter fell ill. Rushed home, he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage; after receiving last rites, he was taken unconscious to the hospital, where on May 6 he died. Will La Drew Bennett, the Methodist minister who had participated in the pageant, suffered a heart attack and died on May 7. These deaths, particularly Kronenwetter's, cast a pall over the conclusion and the aftermath of the day's events.[33]

News coverage minimized the pageant's role in the mayor's collapse. "No one specific incident brought about this condition," said one doctor. "It was a combination of the excitement attendant to the May day program, his high blood pressure and a slight accident he had last Saturday." (He had fallen into a pothole while fishing and needed help to get out.) The Mosinee paper concluded: "From reports of the family it appears that the activities of the day were not responsible for the Mayor's condition." The *Daily Worker* thought otherwise, calling Kronenwetter "the first fatality of the storm-trooper style 'revolution' here." In an editorial the *Worker* avowed: "There is no doubt that the terrorized atmosphere had a good deal to do with [the two men's] collapse," and it demanded an investigation of "the wire-pullers behind these sinister 'mock invasions.'" Lashing out at this propagandizing, the *Mosinee Times* averred that both men's families confirmed that preexisting conditions, not May Day exertions, had led to their deaths, and claimed that the deceased "would despise" even being mentioned in the Communist publication.[34]

WHILE these untoward events prompted second thoughts, some critics assailed the pageant as a whole. Foremost were the Communists, who ridiculed it as a spurious version of the dream for which they lived. On May 1, Fred Bassett

[32] *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 2, 1950; "It Happened One Day in Mosinee," *American Legion Magazine*, 48 (June, 1950), 32; "Address Delivered by Charles L. Larson," May 1, 1950, box 30, WDAL Papers; *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1, 1983; Schweinler to author, February 29, 1988.

[33] *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 2 and 8, 1950; *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 2, 1950.

[34] *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 2, 1950, p. 1; *Mosinee Times*, May 3 and 10, 1950; *Daily Worker*, May 8 and 9, 1950. The *Times* reported both the fishing accident and "a couple of slight heart attacks previously."

Blair of Milwaukee, vice-chairman of Wisconsin's Communist party, challenged Francis Schweinler either to debate the true nature of communism or to let real Reds run Mosinee for a day. He accused the Legion of mounting a "Nuremberg spectacle" and of distorting communism as had Hitler and Marshal Tito. Borrowing General Anthony McAuliffe's famous reply to the German surrender ultimatum at Bastogne in World War II, Schweinler retorted: "NUTS." He predicted continued Communist protests, for the program "struck a hard blow to their cause" by driving "the usual Communist-inspired May Days right off the front pages of the papers, and off the radios of the nation."[35]

Such denunciations continued. The *Daily Worker* exulted that the leaflets distributed by "Real Communists" gave the lie to the "pro-fascist travesty" of "American Legion big shots" and "renegades and stoolpigeons." It opined that "the so-called 'Communist' police state turned out to be remarkably like the realities of the Cold War witchhunt of 1950." When Schweinler rejected Blair's challenge, Blair retorted: "As Hitler allowed only a 'Ja' vote, Herr Schweinler hopes to force everyone to swallow the Kornfeder-Gitlow stoolpigeon version of Communism as the only one permitted." The *Worker* lambasted CBS radio for "broadcasting this fascist clowning on the very morning of the May Day parade." It claimed Mosinee was chosen, against its will, for a "fascist test-tube experiment" because it was a "company town" dominated by paper barons. The paper quoted a housewife who said the black bread and potato soup diet was "no different from what many of the families here have a good deal of the time." As for exemplifying democracy, said the *Worker*, Mosinee, like its environs—and little different from lumbering areas in the South dominated by the same interests—was Jim Crow country, where no blacks lived or were served.[36]

William T. Evjue, the old-time progressive Madison editor whose *Capital Times* was a gadfly to Wisconsin conservatives, also ridiculed the "silly hippodrome up at Mosinee." "Dictatorship isn't anything novel in the little papermill town ... ," which was no stranger to "the dictatorship you will find in almost any one-company industrial community." Having given "Red dictatorship" a whirl, the town should now pay heed to "the growing outlines of dictatorship that are looming over on the right—a dictatorship financed by the forces of monopoly and corporate wealth which are seeking to hide their own designs on America by initiating and promoting Red scares like that held at Mosinee and witch-hunts like the one being conducted in the nation's capital." [37]

Columnists in the liberal *New York Post* also took swipes at the pageant. Max Lerner, once a Popular Front progressive but now a more chastened liberal, wrote: "Of all the insanities that are passing for thinking today this seems to me one of the looniest. ... To go through the Mosinee mummery is to inflame the minds of honest men and women, to make them think with their blood. ..." Eleanor Roosevelt doubted "that anyone learned anything about Communism by this mock invasion, which they could not have learned in other ways just as successfully." [38]

[35] *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Daily Worker*, May 3, 1950.

[36] *Daily Worker*, May 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 14, 1950. For an analysis which echoes these themes, see Fred Bassett Blair's unpublished manuscript, "Mosinee, McCarthy and the Fight for Peace," n.d. [late June, 1950], Blair Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

[37] *Madison Capital Times*, May 5, 1950; *Mosinee Times*, May 17, 1950. Schweinler dismissed Evjue's *Capital Times* as a left-leaning mouthpiece for domestic Communists.

[38] *New York Post*, May 2, 1950 (Lerner); *Mosinee Times*, September 27, 1950. Schweinler disparaged her credentials on the basis of Mrs. Roosevelt's attitude towards Alger Hiss, Elizabeth Bentley, and other presumed Reds.

Nearer the political center, the *Minneapolis Tribune*, in an editorial captioned "Loyalty By Circuses," declared: "The attempt to sell loyalty and anti-communism by special days, as one might sell prunes in National Eat-More-Prunes week, strikes us as just a little frivolous and superficial." Citing New York's Loyalty Day and Mosinee's pageant, the editors lamented "the almost adolescent conviction that such basic truths do not need deep roots, but may thrive and flourish in the carnival atmosphere of special days" and suggested that sponsors of such events "would do much better to concentrate on broadening the base of democracy" in their locales. Similarly, when a town in Iowa imitated Mosinee, the *Des Moines Register* expressed hope that "the American people do not go in for a 'rash' of this sort of thing. There is enough of hysteria and precious little of thoughtfulness about Communism ... as it is." In a piece titled "Run My Good Sheep, Run," the liberal Catholic journal *Commonweal* termed "the Mosinee dramatics ... a kind of game—an adult, purposeful version of cops-and-robbers," and condemned the creation of "unreal, gruesomely playful atmosphere of fear in which to consider the primary political, spiritual and religious problem of the age" as "a very dangerous business."[39]

But the pageant-masters had plenty of data to offset such critical reviews. The influx of reporters and their profuse coverage proved that Mosinee had indeed captured the national imagination. "Eleven long distance circuits, special telegraph lines with reserve operators and couriers in automobiles and airplanes" had transmitted the story all over the world. Four telegraphers had tapped out 41,000 words on May 1. A Stevens Point paper asserted that the event "received more national attention than any past news development in the history of central Wisconsin." Mosineeans exulted over the "nationally famous names" in their town. The chief of public relations of the American Legion reported that "nothing as big as this had ever hit the national headquarters"; clippings covered five big bulletin boards; the news coverage was "sensational." Mosinee and the Legion "were on the air almost continuously" on Sunday night and Monday. Even the foreign press took note. Correspondence, almost all favorable, poured into Mosinee; a few writers criticized the project only for not going further in sketching communism's enormities. A St. Louis man was so inspired that he wrote a poem offering embellishments beyond even the planners' fertile imaginations. One verse read: "Teen age girls were led away and ravished by the men. ..."[40]

THE media coverage was a victory, but not every journalist interpreted the drama as its authors might have preferred. Whether praised or criticized, the pageant was subject to a gamut of perceptions. In this regard, journalists may only have mirrored differences among those who put on the pageant. There were unresolved tensions among sponsors, participants, and observers over the nature of the performance—desired as well as accomplished. The distinction between play and reality, between fun and seriousness, was sometimes murky.

On one hand, some sponsors envisioned the "Day Under Communism" as a very serious undertaking. The national Legion's director of public relations proposed to "caution everyone concerned that this be done in a serious fashion and that there be no horseplay connected with it in any way whatsoever." Schweinler also thought grav-

[39] *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, May 3, 1950; *Des Moines Register*, June 16, 1950; *Commonweal*, vol. 52 (May 12, 1950), 116–117.

[40] *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 1, 1950; *Mosinee Times*, April 19 and 26, May 3, 1950; American Legion National Public Relations Division, press release, n.d. [ca. May 2, 1950], "Legion One-Day Publicity Smash," in Mosinee file, American Legion headquarters, Indianapolis.

ity essential: "There is NOT to be any 'horseplay' of any type whatsoever." Indeed, Schweinler hoped that the people of Mosinee would be "seriously serious." A column in the high school newspaper warned fellow students that "if they laugh and joke about this plan [as they had so far], they will be defeating the purpose of this project."[41]

On the other hand, John Decker, who first conceived the pageant, viewed it as, among other things, an outlet for some fun—a "lark." (This was not a unique notion for a Legion event.) The American Legion national headquarters, without disparaging the project's seriousness, tended to convey a certain light touch by its use of the operative word "stunt."[42]

As with the planners' aims, viewers' perceptions of the pageant varied along a spectrum from gravity to whimsicality. Observers from Detroit took a particularly literal view of the drama. Detroit's police superintendent claimed earnestly that what he had learned equipped him to resist a Red takeover in his city, though he demurred at revealing specifics lest he forewarn the enemy. The pageant, he said, showed "how easily a coup ... could be put over on any community. ..." The *American Legion Magazine* also struck a somber note. "It can't happen here? It did happen ... as a dramatic object lesson" showing "the ease with which a trained body of sab[o]teurs can move into and take over a peaceful city."[43]

Some reporters were impressed by the intensity of the performance in Mosinee. Win Freund, who covered the putsch for the Wausau paper, recalled: "One had to be on hand to realize how many persons accepted the coup as a possibility. They believed, and mainly because of the almost daily utterances of Senator McCarthy, that the Communists were about to take over everything." The "Communists" acted "meaner than Hell." They "got swept away by the idea." The *Mosinee Times* understandably surveyed events in a serious vein. A local reporter argued that the Red victory parade might well "have ended up in an hilarious riot but everybody realized the seriousness of the thought that it 'could happen here'." [44]

Most media took a more tongue-in-cheek approach. Even the *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, a booster of the pageant, was not above joshing. It alleged that Communists had renamed the town dump Schweinler Park "after one of our most popular comrades." It noted that the presence of state leaders of the American Legion (who, of course, carried off the coup) failed to save Mosinee from the Reds. It asserted facetiously that only cherry and strawberry soda could be sold in Red Mosinee; any other color was construed as counterrevolutionary. *Milwaukee Journal* coverage also had a humorous slant. One story stated that Kornfeder spent four years in Russia "learning how to behave in the meanest possible way and all his instruction is paying off

[41] Edward F. McGinnis to Thielen, March 14, 1950, box 30, WDAL Papers; *Mosinee Times*, April 19 and 26, 1950.

[42] Decker interview; Cejnar to Thielen, March 6, 1950, WDAL Papers. For other uses of the term "stunt," see *Life*, May 15, 1950, pp. 46–47; Cejnar to William B. Arthur, March 8, 1950, WDAL Papers; Cejnar to Thielen, April 7, 1950, *ibid.*; *Chicago Tribune*, April 30, 1950. More characteristic of attitudes in Mosinee was use of the term "program." *Life* may have been the first medium to term the Mosinee activities a "stunt," but in any event the term was widely used.

[43] Detroit apparently had a strong theoretical susceptibility to Red takeover. In 1948, *Look* magazine had run an article, with posed pictures of mayhem, "Could the Reds Seize Detroit?" (May, 1948). Carl Cederburg radio broadcast, May 1, 1950, WWJ; James Swinehart interview with Edwin Morgan, *Detroit News*, May 7, 1950, reprinted in the *Mosinee Times*, May 10, 1950; "It Happened One Day in Mosinee," *American Legion Magazine*, 32.

[44] *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, March 18, 1977; interview with Win Freund, August 19, 1977.

beautifully." The *Washington Post* reported that the intrusion of real Communists on April 30 had brought on a "miniature 'cold war.'"[45]

Some coverage was equivocal, perhaps reflecting the ambivalence of some participants, who were not always sure how sternly to comport themselves. But journalists tended to give the balance of the doubt to gravity over levity. A Wausau newsman reported that while some residents treated the day as a "holiday," there was "a general overtone of serious consideration of what the day was intended to convey." A *Milwaukee Journal* story interpreted reactions to the Red victory parade: "some smiled and some didn't, but, clearly the demonstration was being taken seriously by the townsfolk." *Life* conveyed a mixed message in its two-page pictorial spread. The pageant was a "stunt," and the leafleting by "authentic, unreformed Reds" was termed an effort "to spoil the fun"; but through it all, Mosinee demonstrated "a firm belief in Americanism."[46]

YET some scribes drew reassurance from their sense that Mosineeans possessed a Kilroy-was-here irreverence and a capacity for bumbling—traits that presumably would save them from falling under communism's dour sway. Dorothy Parnell of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* gloried in the snafus and burlesque. Kornfeder "could have passed for a character in any musical comedy," while the Mayor "good naturedly booted one of his pals" during his arrest and could not manage a serious enough mien until the second retake. While the communist menace offered "good reason for the 'play,'" there was also "good reason for the 'players' not giving a perfect performance." They were such "true Americans ... they couldn't transpose their roles" or become what they were not. Another *Sentinel* writer found "a reassuring air of fantasy" in the pageant: "[Y]ou can't go to bed as an average American citizen and rise up in the morning as a dyed-in-the-wool Communist."[47]

Pageant participants experienced the mix of earnestness and play in differing ways. Some lost sight of the boundary between the two. As Legionnaires went about readying the coup, a soldier passing through on leave confounded appearance with reality: "Say! What's all this about Communists taking over here? Don't you have a veterans' organization to stop something like that?" Similarly, on May 1, when papermill workers learned of the new Soviet labor code and its twelve-hour day for four dollars' pay, for a moment they confounded fact with fiction and grumbled—authentically—until they were set straight. By one account, "although the Mosinee dramatics were a kind of game, many townsmen frankly admitted they were scared." A local man, distressed perhaps by the role of real (ex-)Communists in the dramatization, hoisted defiant counter-symbols at his home by flying the Stars and Stripes over a sign reading: "Any communist molesting this American flag is a dead duck." He also strung up an effigy carrying a placard: "This commie tried to pull down the Red, White and Blue."[48]

The growing interest of historians (and sociologists and anthropologists) in the social uses of pageantry has led to study of the role of Carnival. Some have suggested that in temporarily reversing societal roles, exalting the humble and abasing the well-born, Carnival operates as a safety valve to

[45] *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 1, 1950; *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1, 1950; *Washington Post*, May 1, 1950.

[46] *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 2, 1950; *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1, 1950; *Life*, May 15, 1950, p. 46.

[47] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 2, 1950.

[48] *Milwaukee Journal*, April 30, 1950; *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 2, 1950; "The Town That Saw Red," *Catholic Digest*, vol. 19 (July, 1950), 73; *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 1, 1950.

bleed off discontent with a hierarchical social order. On its face, Mosinee's one-day switch might seem Carnival-like. But for all its fantasy and counterfactual play, it did not produce Carnival's upside-down world. Historian George Lipsitz's description of Carnival as bringing laughter meant to "uncrown power" hardly fits Mosinee.[49]

In Mosinee, on the contrary, haves did not exhange roles with have-nots. Though the local elite was symbolically overthrown, the overthrowers came from outside the community. Imposing their yoke on high and low alike, the "Communists" muddled any sense of social revolution. The operating premise that participation be voluntary, the media's obtrusiveness (which maintained a lifeline between the temporary "play" world and ongoing reality), and the catharsis of the closing ceremony also limited the potentially unsettling, uprooting quality of the experience.

There were also some who refused to cross the boundary into the pretend world of communism. Some locals made a game of running the "roadblocks," daring the police to act. (The meaning of their actions might, of course, be ambiguous: were they rejecting this coercion playfully within the context of the pageant or defiantly from outside its premises?) Others evaded the grim Soviet diet by stealing away to Wausau for a square meal. Mayor Kronenwetter himself brought a mildly subversive playfulness to the proceedings.[50]

The media gave telling shape to the pageant. The presence of dozens of reporters and broadcasters shifted the target audience from townspeople to the nation's media consumers, and so altered the performance. Thus, a precise schedule of events was given to the media, but not the public, "in order to avoid crowds at the points of activities." The mayor's arrest was rerun to satisfy the swarming photographers who missed the first enactment as well as those who felt Kronenwetter had not acted gravely enough under duress. And at Red Square, before the oratory began, "the newsreel men again took charge and the crowd had a great time raising its fists and shaking them into the faces of the cameras." An Associated Press story noted "some early horseplay by some seventy newsmen and photographers" but found most townspeople "co-operating" with the scenario by afternoon. A Mosinee woman complained that the pageant's "potential value" was undermined by the "sensationalism and violence" of the scenario, the "appeal to publicity" and the "rehearsed photography," which occasioned a loss of "genuineness and dignity."[51]

Still, the very presence of so many media representatives impressed other townspeople with the importance of the exercise, creating a new, larger reality. A millworker confessed he was "lukewarm to the whole thing until I saw Sunday how seriously all the newspaper people regarded this threat; I realize now we must wake up."[52] The media

[49] George Lipsitz, *Time Passages* (Minneapolis, 1990), 16. The literature on the implications of Carnival and its societal role reversals is vast. For an introduction, see Michael Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. by Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington, Indiana, 1984), and David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, 1988), 144–150. For an extreme and convoluted instance of social play during Carnival which became deadly serious, see Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, *Carnival in Romans* (New York, 1979).

[50] *Milwaukee Journal*, May 2, 1950; *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950.

[51] *Mosinee Times*, May 3, 1950; *Milwaukee Journal*, May 1 and 10, 1950; *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, May 2, 1950. On May 7, 1950, the *Daily Worker* claimed pageant "planners had been inciting anti-Communist and war hysteria to a higher pitch throughout the country, and the vast corps of news and radio men were solicited and came here on that basis."

[52] *Wausau Daily Record-Herald*, May 2, 1950. On the other hand, a local merchant said it was "the bunk." The *Daily Worker* (May 7, 1950) quoted the millworker to prove that the pageant was manufactured for the media's benefit and was not a folk

reportage made the pageant a success in the calculations of most sponsors.

Several well-wishers saw the pageant as a model for other towns. An editorial in the *Green Bay Press-Gazette* noted that the stage version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, "traveling from town to town, gave the American people of a bygone era a better conception of slavery than they could ever find in a book." Detroit's police commissioner suggested that "service organizations" might repeat the pageant, which gave "a good answer to that statement, 'It can't happen here.'" James Swinehart of the *Detroit News* declared, "I'll predict that in another year 500 or more communities in the United States will adopt the Mosinee Plan for teaching Americanism." Francis Schweinler editorialized that Mosinee's experience "will prove invaluable to those communities who follow us."[53]

Ben Gitlow in particular projected more Mosinees. Schweinler and he addressed the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, a newly organized consortium of fifty-one groups which convened in Chicago on May 14, 1950. Gitlow declared the Mosinee program "one of the first effective steps taken by the American people in the psychological warfare against communism." If similar efforts succeeded, "we can wipe the Communist May Day off the map" and turn it into "a holiday for the propagation of Americanism." Schweinler noted that loud applause greeted the report on the pageant and the comment that Mosinee "can provide the spark that will enlighten our people and drive all 'isms, except Americanism, from among us."[54]

BUT despite the promising debut in Wisconsin, imitations were rare. The only true one occurred in Hartley, a small town in northwest Iowa whose chamber of commerce and American Legion post, assisted by Legionnaires from Nebraska, scheduled a Communist takeover for Flag Day. Modeled closely after Mosinee's, the pageant was to include Communist proclamations, flags, and Red shock troops; the arrest and internment of capitalists and clergy; a parade to "Red Square" culminating in the mayor's surrender of the town and proclamation of the new order by a commissar; bookburning; indoctrination of students; rationing; and a soup kitchen. A program which the *Omaha World-Herald* termed a "Flag Day, American style" and the destruction of the day's communist trappings would end the dramatization.

The Mosinee model loomed large in other ways. The local newspaper and its editor, W. R. Vezina, played a key role in the pageant. Sponsors stated an aim of "exposing the people of this area to the danger and tyranny of communism." To stem rumors and reassure townspeople disturbed, perhaps, by the two deaths in Mosinee, the *Hartley Sentinel* declared that "all demonstrations and arrests will ... be made in a peaceful manner and no rough tactics will be tolerated." The newspaper also stressed that, "contrary to the belief of some, this is not intended to be a celebration but rather a demonstration.[55] It might well be likened to a pageant that is portraying the possible future rather than the past." A headline heralding the demonstration asserted: "It

product; it neglected to publish the comment after the semicolon.

[53] *Mosinee Times*, April 26 and May 10, 1950; also a clipping dated May 1, 1950, in the Dessert Library, Mosinee.

[54] *New York Times*, May 15, 1960; Mosinee *Times*, May 17, 1950. On the All-American Conference, see *American Legion Magazine*, vol. 48 (March, 1950), 29, 31.

[55] Sponsors of other Cold War pageantry which raised memories of past or forebodings of future misfortune also felt a need to offer assurance that "celebration" was not their aim. This caveat figured prominently in official statements connected with the Civil War Centennial.

Can Happen Here." Hartley also braced for an intrusion by real Communists, as at Mosinee; but no such foray occurred. However, the district chairman of the Iowa-Nebraska Communist party did accuse Hartley of putting on a "Nuremburg spectacle." And the amateur St. Louis poet who had celebrated Mosinee also offered his verses to Hartley—but this time he made no reference to ravished maidens.

Hartley added a few wrinkles. "Influential capitalists" would be tried, and homes would be inspected for anti-communist literature and firearms. An airplane was to drop "surrender leaflets" as the invasion began. Unlike Mosinee, Hartley imported no ex-Communist experts: James Green of Omaha, Americanism chairman of the national American Legion, played the role of commissar. Hartley also had a "narrator and master of ceremonies," the news editor of a nearby radio station. And—a nice touch—dancing at Neebel's Danceland would follow the closing ceremonies.

Hartley's insurrectionists faced an unforeseen challenge—a sudden downpour that disrupted outdoor features of the program and thinned the crowd. Led by Commissar Green, some forty "guerrillas" described as "soaked-to-the-skin" seized control of strategic points. Public officials were arrested and some "executed." Reds seized the newspaper and distributed copies of "The Hammer and Sickle." Hartleyites queued up for ration cards and submitted to a pass and roadblock regimen like Mosinee's. Books from the library and school were burned. (Only such worn-out "capitalistic volumes" as *Billy Whiskers* and *The Bobbsey Twins* suffered this fate.) The parade to Red Square fell casualty to the rainstorm; the mass meeting was held indoors. Hartley's ambience differed from Mosinee's. The Iowa town did not receive the invasive media coverage its Wisconsin counterpart endured. Nor did enthusiasm run as high. Some local businessmen declined to participate; some householders demurred at having their homes searched by "Communists," and some townspeople resented the notion of "playing around," noting the cautionary fate of the two men who died in Mosinee. Said a Hartley official: "They know Communism is bad. They feel that when you play with something that is bad, somebody's going to get hurt." The would-be Communists were warned not to "push people around" because some of them were "all steamed up about this."

Among participants, commitment to the pageant's premises varied and probably fell short of the levels of acceptance in Mosinee. Legionnaires were commended for their "serious and orderly" demeanor and the absence of rowdiness. On the other hand, townsfolk who attended the mass meeting "demonstrated vocally against" proclamations of Communist takeover. The new regime arrested many young people for tearing down Communist flags "and otherwise staging demonstrations." Some youngsters reportedly resented interrupting vacation to report to school to be harangued by Commissar Green.

Notwithstanding such difficulties, the editor of the *Hartley Sentinel* declared the pageant a "distinct success." Despite the rain, which "held the local crowd down, very wide publicity was given to the event," whose "only real purpose ... was to help make the people of Hartley and the nation more aware of the dangers of Communism or putting it a little more mildly a 'Police State'."

IN sharp contrast to Mosinee's experience, the national media ignored Hartley's theatrics. The soufflé simply would not rise twice. Having attracted national coverage once, voluntary submission to "communism" no longer lured reporters from afar. It was a self-limiting phenomenon. The *Des Moines Register* covered the event, but critically. It editorialized that real Reds, "vastly more subtle," did not "stoop to clumsy rough-houses, public mass arrests, or ostentatious book-burnings."

"To 'imitate' Communism with displays of physical violence is really misleading. ... What we need to worry about in our time are the *invisible* violences done to men's reason and gentility by suspicion, disunity, intolerance, and dogmatism."[56]

In December of 1951, Rushville, Indiana, fell to communism, but with a different script—and level of participation. The *Indianapolis Star* sent a photographer and reporter to Rushville to create a photo opportunity and story built on the Red menace. What resulted was a journalistic figment with scant community involvement. Reporter Charles G. Griffo termed his article a "fictionalized account of what could happen anywhere in the United States" and "a composite of the fate of thousands of persons behind the 'Iron Curtain.'" He thanked clergymen, local officials, and members of the Civil Air Patrol, the VFW, and the American Legion for posing for pictures. Photographs depicted uniformed Reds putting a man behind bars, invading a church, seizing nuns and clerics, taking over the hotel and regimenting the young. Local participation seems to have extended no farther than these activities, and civic education was minimal. Indeed, it is unclear how much of the article was based on staged events and how much was simply made up. Lacking equipment to print pictures, the Rushville paper did not even cover the episode.[57]

Underlying premises in Rushville were even gloomier than in Mosinee: the scenario assumed that the major cities had been bombed, and now the hamlets were being mopped up by Communist "occupation parties." Rushville's day under Communism also required a heavy dose of newspaper-supplied imagination. The *Star* characterized its story as covering events which took place over a half-year.

The religious overtones had also grown heavier, at least in the *Star*'s interpretation. "Churches 1st Feel Conqueror's Whiplash" read the headline. "On this First Sunday in Advent," the coverage began, "Christianity faces its greatest peril at the hands of the blood-hungry Communist masses of the Anti-Christ," the only recourse against which was "a great moral resurgence and prayer." The Communists swept into St. Mary's Catholic Church during a children's mass and carried off the priest and several nuns while parishioners were restrained at gunpoint. The newly mandated prayer began, "Our father who art in Moscow."

The script also included bookburning at the library, nationalizing the main hotel and ousting its guests, indoctrinating schoolchildren, and seizure of homes and farms. A mass grave supposedly containing 476 bodies of victims of the new regime was later discovered. Opposition was also scripted and punished. As undercover worship services proliferated, religion became the key spark of resistance. The outcome of the communist takeover was left in this limbo of frail optimism.[58]

Rushville was a failure, at least as measured by publicity. The national media ignored this striking example of what Daniel Boorstin wittily termed a "pseudo-event." Thus, the reach of the Mosinee example was quite limited.[59]

[56] *Hartley Sentinel*, May 25, June 1, 8, 15, and 22, 1950; *Omaha World-Herald*, June 11 and 15, 1950; *Des Moines Register*, June 15 and 16, 1950. Predictably, the editor of the Hartley paper dissented from these more critical evaluations of the affair.

[57] *Indianapolis Star*, December 2, 1951; interview with A. Hartwell Coons, March 21, 1991. Coons was general manager of the *Rushville Republican* in 1951. That he was a friend of the *Star*'s photographer may have partly explained the choice of Rushville as a milieu. No other Rushville resident whom I interviewed remembered the event—indeed, several were quite incredulous—indicating the absence of local impact.

[58] *Indianapolis Star*, December 2, 1951.

[59] Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York, 1961). In February of 1953 occurred the last and geographically most extensive anti-communist pageant. In "Freedom Fortnight," conducted by the American Legion, eleven upstate New York towns pretended to be seized by and then liberated from "Communist

HOWEVER, when civilian enthusiasm for self-communization flagged, military discipline (and manpower) filled the gap. After Mosinee, the most remarkable dramatization of the communist yoke was mounted by the U.S. Army as part of Exercise Long Horn, a massive military maneuver in Texas in March and April, 1952. (By then, of course, with the Korean War two years old, the prospect of actual combat with real-life Communists was more compelling.) The notional "aggressor" was the military arm of the Centralist Party, whose ideology included "state socialism."[60] The scenario for Long Horn posited that Aggressor forces had seized Florida in early 1950 and a part of South Carolina in mid-1951. Mounting naval and air activity in the Caribbean had supposedly culminated in a nuclear attack on a U.S. convoy preliminary to the Centralist invasion of Texas in September, 1951. By March 25, 1952, when the maneuver began, Aggressor forces occupied a line running through Laredo, Uvalde, Brownwood, Copperas Cove, Belton and Bryan in the Lone Star State.[61]

In order that Long Horn might give participants a chance to hone their military government skills, the dates April 2 to 4 were dedicated to a "Centralist" seizure of the town of Lampasas. Then, when U.S. forces retook Lampasas, specialists in military government could practice liberation procedures. Army officers first won approval from the Lampasas mayor and city council, briefed the high school and the chamber of commerce, and ran releases in the local papers. Citizens were asked "to enter into the military government play in order to make it as realistic as possible," yet without "disruption of normal life of [the] city."[62] On April 2, Aggressors (actually components of the elite 82nd Airborne) swept into Lampasas. They threw up roadblocks, commandeered space at the courthouse, and raised a Centralist flag (the state flag of Texas, but with the Lone Star in a triangular green field). Banks, stores, schools, and churches were closed; the radio station and newspapers were seized; martial law was declared. Proclamations of curfews, nationalization, and martial law were "all simulated and to be ignored by Lampasas citizens." "At 1700 hours, the team left the city to resume the play the next morning."

On April 3, members of the Lions Club and their families were interned in a concentration camp. At a high school assembly, the Commissar of Education extolled the glorious Centralist future and enjoined strict obedience. During a flag-raising, an American plane dropped leaflets urging Lampasans to hold true and await liberation. Hoarders, possessors of weapons, curfew violators, and those with an "unfriendly attitude" received summary trials; sentences of

uprisings." Media coverage was nugatory—not a word appeared in the *New York Times*. See David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York, 1978), 351.

[60] Even at the Cold War's height, protocol prevented using names of real enemies. Centralists were first given Hispanic names; there was some later fuzzing on this score. The Aggressor commandant's *nom de guerre* had to be changed when it was learned that Mexico's Secretary of Defense and several Mexican generals, one bearing the same name, would observe Long Horn. *New York Times*, March 23 and April 4, 1952.

[61] The general directing the maneuver suggested a need to develop "a suitable simulated atomic burst, both air dropped and ground delivered," for training purposes. See AKALH-DC 354.25, "Final Report on Exercise LONG HORN," June 18, 1952, pp. 2–4, 8, box 505, and "General Plan, Exercise Long Horn," December 15, 1951, box 506, both in Record Group 319, National Archives, Washington.

[62] Provost Marshal, Final Report, Exercise Long Horn, Annex 1, *Military Government Operations in Exercise Long Horn*, April 18, 1952, p. 8, box 434, Record Group 337, National Archives (hereinafter cited as *Military Government Operations*); Joint Public Information Bureau, Exercise Long Horn, press release LH-19, March 5, 1951, *ibid.*; "Lampasas High School Talk," March 5, 1952, *ibid.*

hard labor and death were meted out. At a band concert, the Aggressor National Anthem was played.

The Centralists withdrew on April 5, leaving behind many problems for the liberating military government unit to solve. Theoretically, some 30 per cent of Lampasas had been destroyed in the fighting; electricity was curtailed; food was scarce. A typhus epidemic loomed. All local officials had collaborated with the Aggressors except the sheriff, who was removed, and the mayor, who had escaped with U.S. forces. The educational hierarchy had been converted to, and the students indoctrinated in, Centralist ideology.

The U.S. military government team arrived on April 8. After suitable ceremonies, they dissolved the Centralist Party, interviewed and liberated prisoners, rooted out enemy agents, reorganized local government, removed collaborators, halted looting, audited the one bank that had cooperated with the enemy, weeded out Centralist currency, processed refugees, and rationed food. Liberation was simple because Lampasas, "an American city, is well imbued with democratic principles and ideals and was occupied for only a short time. ... Aggressor indoctrination of the civilian populace was unsuccessful." The liberation of Lampasas elicited less fanfare than had the invasion, and was shortened when the Army decided to end Exercise Long Horn early.

Post-operations reviews treated the "play" in positive terms; similar occupations were recommended for future maneuvers as "a sound training device." Organizational problems had presented themselves; most participating units had established military government staffs only on a temporary basis. The Army's reviewers recommended more planning and training for the military government aspects of subsequent maneuvers.[63]

But snafus had occurred. The Lampasas simulation had been part of an extensive maneuver with problems of its own. Twenty-three soldiers had died. Coordination among units was faulty, and the two participating National Guard divisions manifested a "lack of aggressiveness." While initial response to two simulated tactical uses of nuclear bombs was satisfactory, follow-up was deemed flaccid. As a result of the large number of fatalities, foul-ups in paratroop maneuvers, and a cold rainstorm productive of gumbo mud that impeded tank operations, the war games ended eighteen hours ahead of schedule.[64]

While Army reports spoke positively of the sack and recovery of Lampasas and glowingly of townspeople's "enthusiastic cooperation," not everyone abided by the script. Certain citizens refused to play along. Some seem to have objected to the interference with normal routine and others were protesting submission to even a make-believe communist yoke. The sheriff balked at taking part in the charade; Centralist troops dragged him off, kicking and protesting, authentically angry. Theatrics threatened to get out of hand at the high school when three students and the football coach refused to stand at attention as ordered; troops enforced the command, one threatening to use his rifle butt. An officer had to break up the melee.[65]

[63] *Military Government Operations*; Exercise Long Horn, Release LH-19, box 434, Record Group 337; Leaflet, "The U.S. Will Return," *ibid.*; Capt. Eugene T. Newhall to Commanding General, Fourth U. S. Field Army, April 9, 1952, box 440, *ibid.*

[64] Headquarters Maneuver Director, Exercise Long Horn, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, J-I, "Final Report," n.d., pp. 7–8, box 431, Record Group 337; AKALH-DC 354.25, "Final Report on Exercise LONG HORN," June 18, 1952, p. 83, box 505, Record Group 319; Jean R. Moenk, *A History of Large-Scale Army Maneuvers in the United States, 1934–1964* (Fort Monroe, U.S. Continental Army Command, 1969), 173, 176, 178.

[65] *Military Government Operations*, p. 15; Headquarters, 82d Airborne Division, "Command Report on Military Government activities for Exercise Long Horn," n.d., box 434, Record Group 337; *Fairmont Times* (West Virginia), April 4, 1952, courtesy of Professor Charles H. McCormick. Pondering

As in Mosinee, the media presence was intrusive. Army publicity lured over forty representatives from newspapers, three newsreel companies, three television networks, radio services, and *Life*, *Time*, and *Newsweek* to Lampasas on April 3, the day on which, for their benefit, most Centralist antics were concentrated. One Army report concluded: "Although it distracted from the actual reality of events to some extent, much publicity was received for Military Government activities." The 82nd Airborne's observer took a more astringent view, that "the operation in Lampasas approached being staged more for the benefit of the news media than as a training aid," and thereby detracted from the realism of the operation.[66] The Army did not always strive for total realism, sometimes injecting playful elements. A special issue of the *Lampasas Dispatch* (dated Juvember 33, 1969) announced that Texas had become a sovereign nation and promised "better government, lower taxes and more rain."[67]

EXERCISE Long Horn did not spawn imitations. It was, of course, neither the first nor the last military simulation. War games by definition suppose circumstances contrary to present fact but of varying degrees of plausibility. Indeed, in 1939, Wisconsin had been invaded by a Red Army which crossed the Mississippi to mount an attack on a Blue Army based at Camp Douglas. The "bombing" of La Crosse signalled the war game's start. In a 1941 exercise more apposite to Mosinee and Long Horn, Anderson, South Carolina, succumbed to an attack which included "fifth columnists" who infiltrated the town as tourists and seized key installations. Local officials were taken to a concentration camp. These tactics were intended to imitate those in use in Europe.[68] And minor simulations of one sort or another continued during and after U.S. involvement in World War II. The Civil Defense program which began in 1950 included countless exercises which presumed the participants were under air attack.[69] In some instances, whole cities were evacuated to test Civil Defense doctrine and execution. But most drills of the 1950's were of the more generic sort many Americans remember—a siren, movement to a theoretically secure area or an on-the-spot "Duck and Cover" drill, and then a return to normal activities.

Despite the enthusiasm stirred up by events in Mosinee, imitations of the pageant were few; the results, disappointing. The model did pique the interest of some professional boosters of America's Cold War morale and citizenship. The idea rattled around at headquarters of the American Heritage Foundation, which sought a sequel to the success of its Freedom Train. In

counter-pageantry of their own, some students seemed to have discussed launching guerrilla operations to "pay back" the 82nd Airborne.

[66] *Military Government Operations*, p. 13; Headquarters, 82nd Airborne Division, "Command Report on Military Government activities for Exercise Long Horn," n.d., box 434, Record Group 337. The Lampasas "play" got little coverage. *Life*'s only treatment of Long Horn was a brief note emphasizing a parachute drop that led to a death and numerous injuries and a fistfight between two units when one "prisoner" was roughed up before he was repatriated. *Life* (April 7, 1952), 53.

[67] Press release, "News media," n.d., box 434, Record Group 337; special issue, *Lampasas Dispatch*, *ibid.*; *Military Government Operations*, p. 16.

[68] *Milwaukee Journal*, May 31, 1939; *New York Times*, March 22, 1938, and July 12, 1941.

[69] A few were inventive. On July 25, 1956, a Marine Corps Reserve company armed with dummy weapons captured the water works, power plant, phone company, and Air National Guard headquarters in Des Moines; the fifty-two men also managed to silence radio and TV stations for a minute. On its own initiative, the company concocted the scheme to show the weakness of American civil defense—this during national Civil Defense Week. Most ominously, the group managed to seize the air-defense filter center, leaving Des Moines blind to the approach of enemy bombers. *New York Times*, July 27, 1956.

1951, an AHF official exploring ways to rouse the public from "apathy" proposed that willing cities mark the 175th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with a "Wake Up America Week" which might include a "This Is Communism Day," featuring a mock Communist putsch. In 1953, an AHF executive suggested staging "mock Communist seizure[s] of government in various communities. But no such pageant came to fruition.[70]

SEVERAL reasons account for the irrepeatability of the Mosinee pageant. Its very success as a media "stunt" proved self-limiting. It garnered national coverage; but repeat performances, almost by definition, would not. The views of Mosinee's sponsors that such a pageant would fail in larger cities were probably correct, so the venues for imitation were limited to small towns and localized audiences. The *experience* of "a day under Communism"—Mosinee's initial objective—might have warranted the vast effort it entailed; but apparently only Hartley, Iowa, thought so.

The period in which such local pageantry might flourish was also brief. Mosinee (and Hartley) barely preceded the outbreak of the Korean War. After June 25, 1950, the general mood of crisis probably made it harder to stir up interest in such a project. Why play at a Communist threat with a real one at hand?

In addition, anti-communist dramatics had, in a sense, become professionalized. Politicians, who for over a decade had striven to satisfy whatever public need there was for theatrical anti-communism, were one source of professionalization. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, red-baiter nonpareil, first won national attention with his speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950—twelve weeks before the events in Mosinee. Although plans for Mosinee actually preceded this unofficial beginning of "the McCarthy era," the subsequent efforts of the Senator and his imitators in and out of government crowded out such home-grown pageantry.

Professionalization in entertainment, broadly defined, also muscled pageantry aside. With the slight exception of the two ex-Communist "commissars," Mosinee's performers were amateurs. Yet in the postwar era, entertainment was increasingly a corporate product aimed at a mass market. Television, of course, accelerated that trend. In 1950 it was not quite yet a force in small-town America, but the rapid spread of TV soon made it harder to mobilize participation in civic pageants of any kind. More and more people stayed at home to enjoy entertainment put on by paid performers. Or, as part of a nation on wheels, they hit the road to seek glitzier forms of amusement than local pageantry provided. (Disneyland opened in 1955.) As patriotic activists lamented, it was harder and harder to find participants and an audience for civic rites.

There was irony in this. Material abundance was one (though not the sole) virtue of "the American way" touted by sponsors of Cold War pageantry. This theme was prominent in the Freedom Train, in the Mosinee events and other Cold War pageants; in world's fairs and expositions; even in the famous "kitchen debate" of 1959 when Vice-President Richard M. Nixon went toe-to-toe with Nikita Khrushchev amid the glistening appliances of a model American home. "The American way"—meaning, to a great degree, material abundance—was part of what Americans were to defend against Communism. But material abundance also siphoned off energies that were the lifeblood of civic pageantry like Mosinee's "Day under Communism." For these reasons, Mosinee was to all intents and purposes one of a kind.

[70] "A Program to Promote National Unity and Morale," n.d. [1951], box 14, AHF Records, and Memorandum, Brendan Byrne to C. M. Vandeburg, June 2, 1953, box 18, AHF Records.

# Buna: The Red Arrow Division's Heart of Darkness

*By Tom Doherty*

IN July of 1942, the 32nd Infantry Division of the United States Army arrived at a tent city called Camp Cable, near Brisbane, in the arid north of Queensland, Australia. America had been in the war for seven months, and the Red Arrow division had been on the move for five of those months. It was time to get back to the business of training for combat.

The new divisional commander, Major General Edwin Forrest Harding, oversaw the creation of a live-fire infiltration course called the Sergeant York. Some soldiers went to commando school, or to sniper school, or even to Tommy-gun instructor's school. But the cutthroat image belied the actual state of the division's readiness. Back to basics was the theme—an urgent, no-frills emphasis on physical toughening and weapons training after an edge-dulling six months of cross-continental train trips, a long ocean voyage, and the limbo of long waits between trips. The Americans were welcomed as celebrities by "Yank crazy" Australian civilians, whose press had been preparing them for bombing raids and likely invasion. But Australian military observers were less impressed. Aussie officers and soldiers "lived hard" in preparation for combat; some of them had already faced the Japanese in battle.[1] By contrast, the officers of the 32nd—a National Guard outfit made up of hometown units from Wisconsin and Michigan—appeared inexperienced, their troops undertrained and overcomfortable.

Mobilized in October, 1940, the division had been on duty long enough, one would think, to have become the equal of any division anywhere. But like all eighteen National Guard divisions mobilized in 1940–1941, the 32nd had faced some unusual hurdles. For one, each Guard division had to train itself. The standard image of new recruits growing tough and savvy under the round-the-clock badgering of hard-driving professionals did not apply. Soldiers on active duty for the first time went off to army schools of all types—cooks and bakers, auto mechanics, leadership academies, and so on—then came back and trained other new soldiers. Also, until Pearl Harbor, the war remained a distant abstraction to most guardsmen. Some had come from the Civil-

EDITORS' NOTE: A slightly different version of this article was presented before the Founders Day meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, February 19, 1993.

[1] Dudley McCarthy, *Australia in the War of 1939–45. Southwest Pacific Area, First Year* (Canberra, Australia, 1959), 32.

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ian Conservation Corps, others from the ranks of the unemployed. For them, the call-up meant a welcome interim of three squares a day, a canvas roof overhead, and some money in their pockets until they went home to good-paying jobs in the booming defense industries of Milwaukee, Janesville, or Detroit.

Equipment shortages, personnel turnover, unit reorganizations—all these complications made the uphill struggle toward readiness even steeper and slower for the 32nd and other Guard divisions than is apparent from looking over the Army's standard training schedule for newly activated divisions.

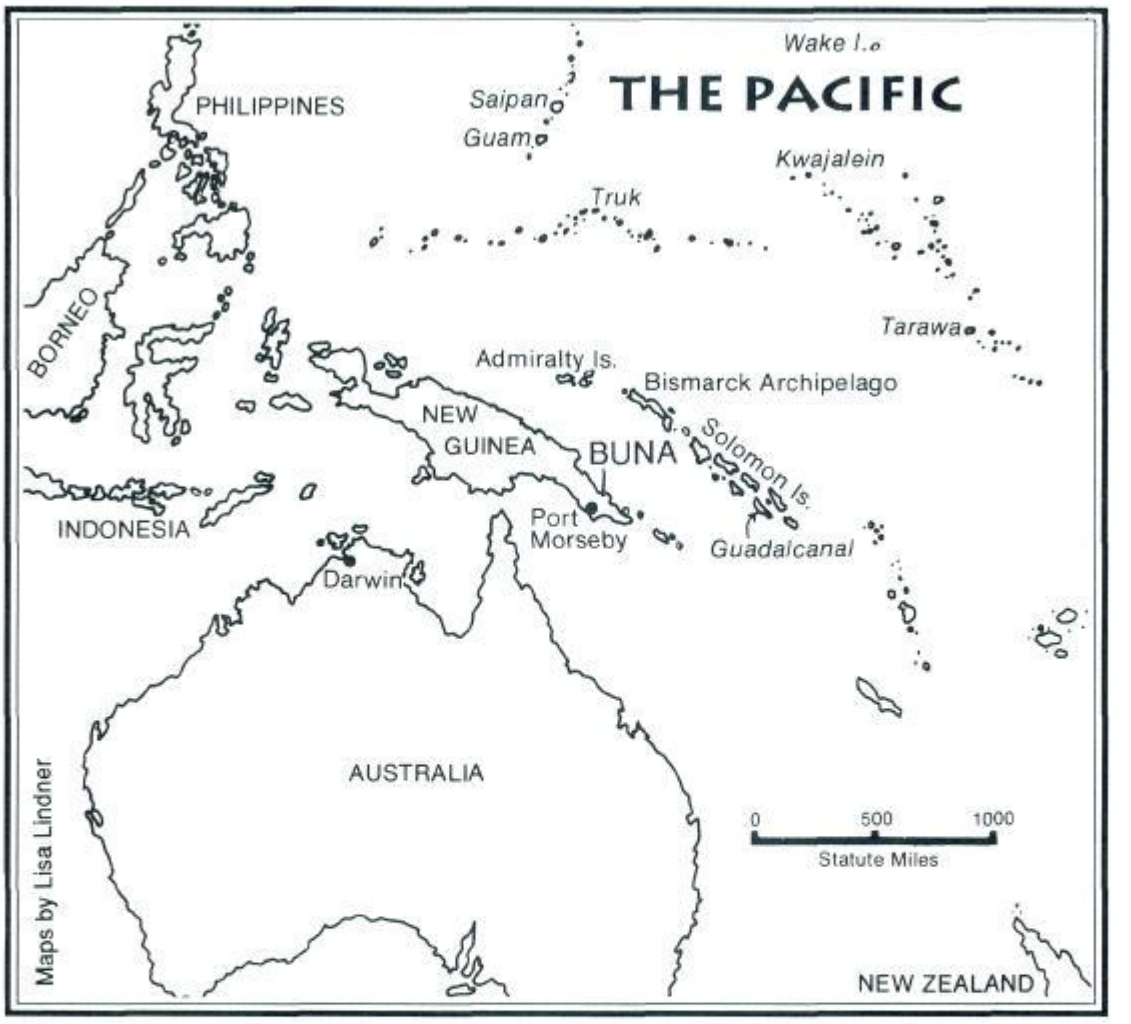
In February, 1942, the division was sent to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, to await transport to Northern Ireland for a possible invasion of the Continent in 1943. But soon after its engineer battalion shipped out, new orders came, sending the 32nd on a cross-country marathon by troop train in the other direction.

The division was still playing catch-up when it set sail from San Francisco in late April, 1942. Only recently had it shaken off the look and organizational structure of its Great War counterpart and been reconfigured as a modern "triangular" division comprised of three combat teams, each consisting of an infantry regiment supported by a battalion of artillery. Modern howitzers were hastily assembled at the Cow Palace and hauled aboard ship as last-minute replacements for the World War I artillery the division had been using for over twenty years. Four thousand infantry "fillers" fresh from basic training also came aboard. The 32nd shipped out on luxury liners—which had been incompletely converted to troop ships and still bore their peacetime names: the *Matsonia*, the *Monterey*, the *Lurline*. Trained for motorized war in Europe, its soldiers now window-shopped through a shipboard PX that featured swank paraphernalia of the sort a lady might need for nights of dining and dancing under a tropical moon. Bataan had fallen. Corregidor was about to fall. For the U.S. Army, things were looking very bleak indeed in the Pacific—the last place on earth these soldiers from Wisconsin and Michigan had expected to find themselves.

THE doomsday mood that gripped Australia early in 1942 was rooted in hard fact. Long on coastline and wilderness, but short on manpower, weapons, and communications, Australia was in deep trouble. From Singapore to Rabaul, the Japanese had overwhelmed everyone in their path. Now all that stood between them and Australia was a wall of islands along the northeast approaches—in particular, the vast, mountainous island of New Guinea.

By mid-summer, the Allies and the Japanese both were preparing to land troops on the northern coast of Papua, the Australian protectorate that made up the eastern half of New Guinea. Whoever got there first would take the initiative in Papua. For the Japanese, seizure of the northern coast would be a giant first step toward Port Moresby, in peacetime a sleepy outpost of empire, but now, suddenly, the next major steppingstone on the Japanese march toward Australia. The Allies had to hold Port Moresby to have a fighting chance at all in New Guinea. Forces landed on the northern coast would shield Moresby while also building forward airbases from which to attack the Japanese stronghold at Rabaul.

The Japanese won the race to the Papuan coast, and soon started over the Kokoda Track, a footpath over the mountains and through the wilderness that led to Port Moresby. A hundred miles away at Moresby, Australian veterans of combat in the Middle East disappeared up through the mist to stop them. These snaking columns searched each other out and did battle on mountain paths previously known only to tribes out of the Stone Age. At first the Japanese consistently outflanked the Aussies




and pushed them back, but by late September, with Moresby in sight, they ran out of steam. The jungle had taken a toll on their troops; many were sick and hungry; their supply lines had been decimated by Allied air power. Suddenly, to everyone's surprise, the Japanese turned around and headed back toward the northern coast.

While all this was going on, the soldiers of the Red Arrow division pulled shore watch and embarked upon two-day hikes and small-scale field exercises back at Camp Cable, a program roughly equivalent to the middle weeks of a brand-new division's thirteen-week basic training cycle. Because they were still preparing to defend Australia from invasion, jungle training was strictly a lecture topic for rainy days. In the words of one draftee, so far their suffering had been limited to "a shortage of Coca Cola and no female companionship."[2]

But shortly after General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander, Southwest Pacific Area, paid a visit in September, they learned that their waiting was over. They were to have ther honor of mounting

[2] Thomas R. St. George, *C/O Postmaster* (New York, 1943), 135.

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*General Douglas MacArthur visiting Major General Edwin Forrest Harding (far left), commander of the 32nd Division, at Camp Tambourine, near Brisbane, Australia, in late summer, 1942. General Sutherland, MacArthur's chief of staff, stands between the two as General Frayne Baker (second from right), division chief of staff, and Colonel Joseph S. Bradley (far right), division intelligence officer, look on. Unlike many pictures which show MacArthur in field dress, this photograph by E. H. Turnor, an Australian civilian, caught him in an Australian-made tunic with complete rows of ribbons. From the Lewis B. Sebring, Jr., Collection.*

the U.S. Army's first ground offensive against the Japanese. The Red Arrow soldiers were high on themselves. They believed that, with their legendary World War I history, they were the natural choice for the job. But in fact, MacArthur, Harding, and other top brass were well aware that the 32nd was far from combat-ready. Its long months in transit, its new soldiers yet to be absorbed into their companies, its lack of jungle training—all were marks against the 32nd. The truth was, the division had been selected for combat because of its weaknesses, not its strengths. If not sent into battle soon it would have to move yet again, with all the consequent delays and upheavals, this time to an area where jungle training could be conducted. Besides, MacArthur

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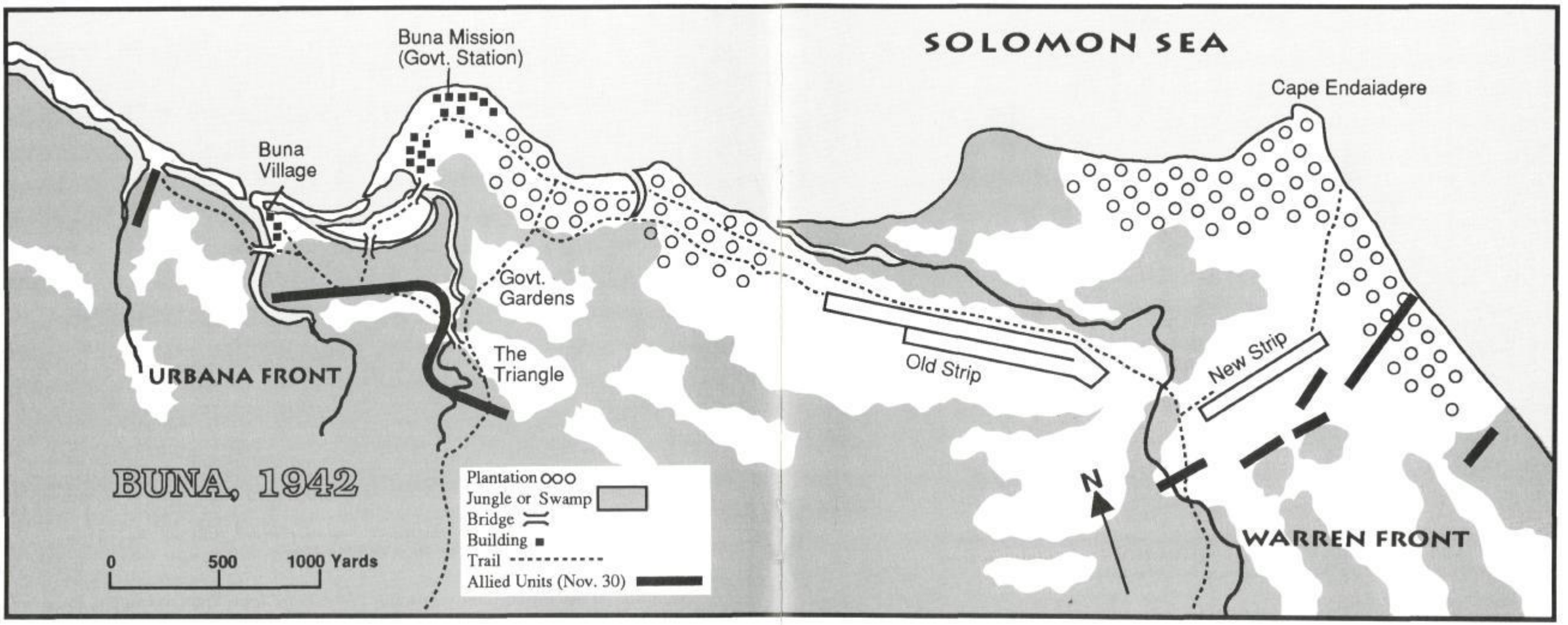
*32nd Division troops on a training march in Australia. Photo by E. H. Turnor, Brisbane, in the Sebring Collection.*

was convinced that the Japanese remaining in Papua were exhausted, vulnerable, and not very numerous. Fresh troops, even green ones, could finish them off. The 32nd's mission was to go in and deliver the coup de grace. [3]

This was MacArthur's plan: while Australian troops continued to pursue the Japanese along the Kokoda Track, one battalion from the 32nd would move parallel to the Japanese over the Owen Stanley Range on the Kapa Kapa Trail, attempting to interfere with their lines of supply and communication. Meanwhile, the remaining battalions of the 126th and 128th infantry regiments would be airlifted to landing strips north of the mountains. Separated by the Girua River, the Aussies and the GI's would roll the Japanese back and destroy them on the beaches—the Aussies at an area named for the village of Gona, the GI's at Buna, a strip of tidal swamp and jungle four miles wide and a mile deep, bordered on the west by Buna Village and the Buna Government Station—an Australian governmental outpost of white bungalows, a general store, and a government building—and on the east by coconut plantations along the coast of Cape Endiadare.

By late October, two of the 32nd's three infantry regiments had hopscotched to Port Moresby and then over the Owen Stanleys by plane or on foot to positions deep in the Papuan jungle. They advanced on foot-

[3] See Samuel Milner, *Victory in Papua* (Washington, D.C., 1957), 91–92, 133. Milner's volume in the official U.S. Army history of the war was the first study of the Buna campaign, and it remains definitive. See also Jay Luvaas, "Buna, 19Nov42–2Jan43, a 'Leavenworth Nightmare'," in Charles Heller and William Stofft, *America's First Battles, 1776–1965* (University Press of Kansas, 1986), 192–193; and Leslie Anders, *Gentle Knight: The Life and Times of Major General Edwin Forrest Harding* (Kent, Ohio, 1985), 225.




paths along several separate routes that converged on Buna. They also had to clear airstrips, build up supplies, and wait for the Australians to mount their offensive against Gona. The delay meant that actual assaults on the Japanese positions could not begin until the Americans had already been in the jungle for weeks, by which time many were sick with fevers, dysentery, and so on. They quickly learned how ill-prepared they were for an extended stay in the jungle. They had no insect repellent, no waterpoof packaging, and few machetes for clearing the undergrowth.[4] Beyond a few coastal enclaves settled by Australians, Papua remained an enormous dripping wilderness, teeming with disease, equally hostile to all interlopers, be they Australian, Japanese, or American. To venture inland upon its few footpaths, whether up into the mists of the Owen Stanley Range or down through its reeking tidal swamps, was to step back into prehistory. No series of innoculations, no period of acclimatization, no lectures or army training films could have prepared these soldiers for what the jungle was about to inflict upon them, from the microscopic to the torrential.

[4] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 134.



BY mid-November, forward units of the 32nd Division prepared to make their first assaults on Buna, grateful that resistance would be light—a few hundred starving Japanese, they believed—and that they would soon be back in civilization. Along the coast, the 1st Battalion of the 128th—made up of companies from Menomonie, Eau Claire, Marshfield, and Rice Lake—prepared to attack down a narrow corridor into the Japanese left flank. There, the first platoon of Marshfield's Company C was destined to become, in effect, the tip of the arrowhead. Inland, the 3rd Battalion—Stoughton, Monroe, Beloit, and Platteville—made ready to attack toward Japanese airfields near the Buna mission station. Across a swamp farther inland, the 2nd Battalion also prepared to attack Japanese positions closer to Buna village and the Buna mission.

For Gen. Harding, things could not have gotten off to a worse start. Already stripped of his American artillery by a remote headquarters that claimed he did not need it, he was heading up the coast on November 16 in a convoy of small boats when they were spotted and attacked by a flight of Japanese Zero fighters. Soon the boats were in flames or already sunk, dozens of men were killed or wounded, and heavy machines guns, heavy mortars, and Australian artillery pieces were lost. Harding swam to shore, arriving in the battle zone stripped of his uniform and all but a very few of his heavy weapons.

Two days after the supply convoy was sunk, C Company went forward to engage the enemy. Most of its soldiers carried M1 rifles, but a few were armed with Browning

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*Transporting troops by rowboat in northeastern New Guinea in late 1942. From an album of personal photos taken by Robert J. Doyle of the* Milwaukee Journal, *who was accompanying the 32nd Division, in the Sebring Collection.*

automatic rifles, others with Tommy guns. The men had spent the past two days marching about twenty miles through the jungle. They were waterlogged from constant rain, and they were hungry. They had started out with full packs—two blankets, two pairs of shoes, and so on, but with every ten-minute break, they left more stuff behind. By the time they went into battle many soldiers carried only a rifle and two bandoliers of ammunition, and almost nothing in the way of personal gear.[5]

Late in the day of November 18, the first platoon forded a waist-deep stream and dug in for the night. Infantry doctrine at the time was to attack a target first with supporting artillery and the battalion's heavy weapons, then send some riflemen forward to engage the target through coordinated fire and movement while others tried to maneuver around the enemy's flank or rear. However, with the ocean on one side and jungle on the other, Company C had almost no room to maneuver. Nor, with the jungle canopy overhead, could it benefit much from supporting weapons.[6]

THIS was not by accident. It stands to reason that if you expect to be attacked, you will do your best to confine

[5] This, and much of what follows, is based upon the author's interviews, June, 1979, with Company C veterans Elmer Rapp, Lawrence Pankratz, and Godfrey Laufenberg.

[6] A rifle *platoon* consisted of thirty to forty riflemen plus a squad armed with several Browning automatic rifles. A *company* was made up of three rifle platoons plus a weapons platoon (which included some small mortars and light machine guns), a total of about 200 infantrymen at full strength. There were three rifle companies and a heavy weapons company in a *battalion*—in all, about 800 fighting men—and three battalions in a *regiment.*

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*Two of Lewis Sebring's Aussie buddies standing in the churned-up mud of a trail through the jungle. From the Sebring Collection.*

the enemy to certain routes of approach and to concentrate your fire upon those routes. The more successful you are in funneling him into a narrow front of your own choosing, the more likely you are to neutralize any advantage he may have in numbers, surprise, and so on, and then to destroy him piecemeal.

This was exactly what the Japanese had set out to do. Their Buna stronghold was surrounded on two sides by the sea and on the landward sides by swamp and jungle. Thus they could concentrate their strength on the only three routes of approach possible for an enemy coming overland. They filled the jungle floor in those areas with a succession of virtually invisible fortifications woven together with trenches, and they sited their automatic weapons to cover those paths. Meanwhile, their numbers were growing. Reinforcements including veterans of China, Malaya, and the Philippines brought Japanese strength to 6,000 or more in the Buna-Gona area.[7] Snipers gazed down from treetops, while machine gunners watched the footpaths from hidden positions on the ground. Behind and below these skirmishers were bunkers made of layered coconut logs, barrels of sand, even steel and concrete, their walls so thick and solid they were secure from all but direct hits by plunging fire from heavy guns. As an Australian correspondent later wrote, "From such positions companies can hold up battalions and battalions could resist divisions. ..."[8]

On the morning of November 19, as the rest of Marshfield's Company C crossed the stream behind them, two squads of the 1st platoon started cautiously up the trail. The first men had gone only a short distance

[7] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 146.
[8] Luvaas, "Buna," 200–201.

when a burst of fire came from treetops and concealed machine guns, some barely three or four feet away.

George Bores, the scout for the 1st platoon, was up front. He was killed immediately. Four others were hit by that first burst of fire, and a man named Wells was killed. The rest of the first squad dove into the jungle and fired into the trees. The squads behind them tried to spread out. Several men crawled forward a ways, and one of them, Lawrence Pankratz, found Bores. He had been shot in the head.

"Our troops were pinned down everywhere by extremely effective fire," reported Major David B. Parker. "Grenades and mortars were difficult to use because, first, it was difficult to pick out a nest position to advance upon with grenades, second, the thick jungle growth and high grass made throwing and firing difficult, and, third, because it was nearly impossible to observe our fire."[9]

Company C was stopped in its tracks. Men dug foxholes, which promptly filled with water. No one slept that night. Some of those in front heard Japanese voices, but unlike in the movies, they apparently were talking among themselves, not taunting the Americans who had so obligingly walked into their killing zone.

AT dawn, Company C's mortars opened up from the rear, and a lieutenant named John Crow came running up the path leading three or four riflemen. C company veterans recall him calling out, "Come on, let's go, let's go, keep moving." Men of the first platoon crawled out of their holes to follow. Within about thirty yards they stumbled upon the bodies of enemy soldiers killed by the mortar fire—the first Japanese they had ever seen. Lawrence Pankratz realized that he had stumbled onto the roof of a bunker. A bullet hit his arm, and he spun off the bunker. He was soon being escorted to the rear by a medic, through Eau Claire's B company, which was moving up behind C Company. "Kinda rough up there," he told them. Lt. Crow, the man they had tried to follow, was never seen again and later was listed among those missing in action.

Back up front in Company C, new commanding officers were coming and going. Men did not know who their CO was at any given time. They were isolated by the dense jungle in small groups, ignorant of the big picture or even of where the rest of their platoon was located. Each man's view of the world had shrunk to within a few feet on either side.

For two days the attack had been blunted, but each day more softening-up fire from mortars and Australian 25-pound field pieces was laid on, and on the third day an air strike was scheduled to precede still another attack on the bunkers. But the crews of the U.S. Air Force B-25's and A-20's could not find their targets. Some bombs fell in the sea, others among B and C companies. Six men were killed, many were wounded, and dozens were virtually buried. Elmer Rapp was cleaning his rifle in anticipation of the upcoming attack when the bombs fell short. The blasts lifted him out of his foxhole and shrapnel lodged in the base of his spine, paralyzing him. Godfrey Laufenberg lasted long enough to join the attack on the line of bunkers that the bombers had entirely missed. The attack was soon stalled again by heavy fire from the bunkers. The riflemen could not get around them, and it was suicide to attack them straight on without a way to destroy them. Two officers went forward, were wounded, and were promptly evacuated. Another who had been very vocal urging men up to the front a day or so earlier never came up himself. Later his men learned that he had had a breakdown and was pulled out.

So on day three, command of the company fell to Reuben Steger, the first ser-

[9] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 175.

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*Soldiers of Company A, 127th Regiment, crossing on a footbridge constructed by the Japanese on Girua Island, not far from the Buna Mission. U.S Signal Corps photo.*

geant and the former pitcher on the American Legion softball team in Marshfield. Godfrey Laufenberg saw Steger go forward and climb over some sort of obstacle or knoll, and immediately go down, hit by sniper fire. Walter Grimm shot the sniper, and Staff Sergeant Carl Cherney went forward to help Steger. A second sniper opened fire, and Cherney went down. Like Steger, Cherney had been a long-time member of Company C. He had gotten married in Louisiana in July of 1941, and his daughter was born about a month or so after he was killed.

Godfrey Laufenberg later found Cherney's body, only to discover at the same time that he himself was bleeding from his legs and back. He too was evacuated with shrapnel wounds.

In three days, Company C had lost sixty-three men, including all four officers, with little to show for it. [10]

A half mile inland, at the juncture of the old and the new airstrips, the 3rd Battalion had done no better. Confined to a single elevated footpath flanked on both sides by swamp, it had attacked for three days and had taken heavy casualties while making negligible progress. On November 21st alone it suffered forty-one killed and wounded. (Gen. Harding had designated the 3rd Battalion and the 1st Battalion attacking near the coast the Warren Force, after his home county in Ohio.)

Two miles farther inland, on the other

[10] *Ibid.*, 178.

side of a great swamp, the 2nd Battalion of the 128th Regiment, made up of companies from Beaver Dam, Portage, Madison, and Baraboo, attacked a Japanese stronghold they called the Triangle, a network of bunkers and trenches surrounded by swamp and built around the intersection of several footpaths, one of which led to Buna Government Station. In the following weeks, the 2nd Battalion would attack through the swamp again and again, trying to break through or infiltrate around the Triangle. Companies of the 126th and 127th regiments would also try. None of the attacks succeeded, and most took an awful toll on the attackers. (Gen. Harding designated the troops in this sector the Urbana Force, after the hometown of another general from Ohio, Lieutenant General Robert Eichelberger, a West Point classmate and currently MacArthur's corps commander in Australia.)

DURING those three days in November, Murphy's Law ran amok. If scheduled air cover came at all, it came at the wrong time or bombed the wrong targets. MacArthur's air force commander, General George Kenney, had rejected Harding's request to bring his new 105mm howitzers over the mountains. "The artillery in this war flies," he said, meaning, apparently, that his bombers would do the job.[11] He could not have been more wrong. The air force did little damage to Japanese bunkers but a lot to 32nd infantrymen at the front. Furthermore, mortar fire was ineffective—powder got wet, fuzes were the wrong type, rounds burst harmlessly in the treetops or on bunker roofs. Fire from the Australian 25-pounders was noisy and theatrical, but like the mortar fire, it had virtually no effect on the bunkers. The 32nd's own 105s with delayed-action fuzes could have destroyed the bunkers, but only late in the month was a lone howitzer airlifted to the front, where it eventually proved devastating against enemy bunkers.

Lack of training in patrolling and night problems made forward units blind to enemy locations and confined their movements to daylight hours.[12] The shock of being outgunned by an invisible enemy—virtually unreachable behind bunker walls—left soldiers and commanders shaken on both fronts.

Even before Harding went into action, his division had been whittled down to a single infantry regiment. The 126th had been taken from him and temporarily assigned to the Australians on the Gona front, and the 127th would not be sent forward until supply lines had been built up to sustain it. All three of his available battalions were committed.

Complicating his dilemma was a theater commander—and the term perfectly suited Gen. Douglas MacArthur—a mountain range away who had already written the script for this battle and who had little patience with anyone who deviated from it. Having decided that Harding did not need artillery, MacArthur sent out observers who returned prudently adhering to the accepted wisdom. The problem, they told MacArthur, was not in the script but in the cast. Perhaps key players needed to be shaken up a bit, or replaced.

CLEARLY Harding was in the hot seat. "Never have so few been inspected by so many," one of his staff members wrote.[13] And MacArthur's pride—already wounded by Bataan, by Australian skepticism about the abilities of American soldiers, by Marine and Navy successes all around him—was at stake. For MacArthur, a quick, decisive victory at Buna was as much a personal need as a strategic one.

[11] *Ibid.*, 135.

[12] *Ibid.*, 133.

[13] Anders, *Gentle Knight*, 223.

Harding asked for reinforcements, and was given back one of his own battalions—the 2nd of the 126th, the weary veterans of the trek over the Owen Stanley Range. He asked for tanks, and two were loaded onto captured Japanese barges and started up the coast only to sink under their own weight. By November 23, five days into the battle, his strength had improved by only one tired battalion, but he immediately put it to use, ordering the Urbana Force to plan another assault on the Triangle. Both battalions there—the 2nd of the 126th and the 2nd of the 128th—were commanded by Wisconsin men named Herbert Smith. Herbert M. Smith was a telephone executive from Neillsville who had led the Michigan battlion over the mountains; Herbert A. Smith, had been the postmaster in Oshkosh. Both were respected and admired by their men because they were typically found up front, sharing the risks and hardships.

So another assault on the Triangle was launched, this time with two battalions. This time it was American P-40's that hit the wrong targets, strafing Herbert A. Smith's command post but leaving the Japanese largely untouched. The attack went forward, and there were some fierce engagements, but swampwater had fouled many weapons, especially machine guns, and they began to malfunction. Men lived for hours in swampwater up to their necks, their ability to repel a counterattack fading as their weapons went down. Eventually some soldiers turned back without orders and drifted to the rear. Word of this got back to MacArthur, further damaging his confidence in the 32nd Division.[14]

Gen. Harding still believed that a wedge into Buna could be punched through a soft spot on the far west side, if only the troops could work their way around the Triangle. So on November 30, both battalions went forward once again. The objective was to maneuver behind the Triangle, and then attack toward Buna village. They started out before dawn, in a high-tension effort to sneak up on Japanese positions, each rifleman grasping the shoulder of the man ahead. Rifle chambers were empty to prevent premature firing. When at last the Japanese detected them, a fierce fire-fight lit up the darkness. When it was over, two companies of the 126th under Herbert M. Smith had overrun several Japanese positions, including a headquarters complex and an infirmary. It was the first significant gain against a strong enemy position. Smith had pushed the line in his sector to within 300 yards of Buna village. But attacks by other units on both fronts had once again gone nowhere. After nearly two weeks of beating against a wall, the division had sustained 500 casualties and still did not have much in the way of solid gains to report.

HARDING had more on his mind than the Japanese. He dreaded exessive U.S. casualties. He was haunted by the "butcher's bill" run up by the generals of the Great War.[15] For example, in five months of combat in northern France, the 32nd alone had lost nearly 3,000 men killed and 13 to 14,000 wounded—about the same number of casualties the division was to suffer during three years of combat in World War II. How did it lose so many men so fast? In effect, by continuing to employ Civil War tactics in the face of machine guns and rapid-firing artillery. The Red Arrow division had compiled an enviable reputation for gallantry and drive, but the price it paid had been high.

Here is how the 32nd's Great War commander, Major General William G. Haan, described the way the division sustained an

[14] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 186, 204.

[15] *Infantry Journal* (September–October, 1937), 456.

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*Major General William G. Haan, the 32nd Divisions's World War I commander.*

attack: "As front line elements melt away, the next succeeding elements take their places in the front and so on and so on. The division is a sort of revolving machine where in turn each succeeding echelon passes over the front line and is thus able to give new impetus to the forward movement of the great machine."[16] Haan said nothing about trying to outflank the enemy or deceive him or search out exploitable weaknesses in his line. Instead, you pumped up the troops with furious rhetoric and sent them charging head-on into the enemy lines.

It was this kind of tactics that Harding wanted to change during the late 1920's and early 1930's, when he was one of a group of instructors at the Fort Benning Infantry School who were known as "Marshall's men." George C. Marshall—who in 1939 became the army chief of staff—was the school's assistant commandant and leader of the effort to clean house of old methods and old mind sets. He and the officers he had drawn into the faculty had spent years learning—and training others—to replace the wasteful frontal assaults of the Great War with tactics intended to minimize casualties and maximize ingenuity. They encouraged a new generation of infantry officers to think in terms of rapid flanking movements, of deception, and so on—to think on their feet, to show initiative, above all to be flexible—instead of locking themselves into the head-to-head assaults of the past. Better to outwit, outflank, overwhelm the enemy with firepower than to hammer head-on until your battalions "melted away."

At the Infantry School, Harding had edited *Infantry in Battle*, a study of small-unit engagements during World War I, complete with lessons to be drawn from each study. This is one of those lessons: "To assault by day an organized position, manned by good troops equipped with automatic weapons, without providing for adequate support by [artillery] fire or tanks

[16] William G. Haan, "The Division as a Fighting Machine," in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 4:30–26 (September, 1920).

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*Troops of the 32nd Division moving along a trail in the early stages of the Buna campaign.*

is folly."[17] This was exactly the situation faced by his underarmed battalions at Buna.

Well, then, what if all those headquarters generals are so desperate that the pressure to act is unbearable, folly or not?

This was another of the leadership problems Harding had pondered, and his conclusion, expressed in the *Infantry Journal* in 1937, when he was editor of that professional soldiers' journal, was that sometimes the more courageous course was to stand fast. "Since wars began," he wrote, "this 'do something' obsession has driven leaders to order attacks that had no prospect of success. ... The enemy's position is immensely strong, but our masters are impatient. We attack and the history of military disaster is enriched by another bloody repulse."[18]

In another *Infantry Journal* editorial Harding criticized the tendency of senior commanders during World War I to fire subordinates whenever things went wrong. In what he termed that war's "canning factory" resided another variety of the "do something" fallacy.[19] Better to keep your cool and work with a team that has trained

[17] Edwin Forrest Harding, ed., *Infantry in Battle* (Washington, D.C., 1934), 305.

[18] *Infantry Journal* (September–October, 1937), 456.

[19] *Ibid.* (November–December, 1936), 557.

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*Rear view of a fortified Japanese dugout in the jungle of the Buna front. An immobilized Stuart tank is in the upper left corner of this picture taken by Colonel David Larr, from the Sebring Collection.*

together, he concluded, than to try to bring in a bunch of all-stars who have not.

The qualities that Harding emphasized in his writings boiled down to this: A good leader possesses the courage and self-discipline to protect his organization from his own rash impulses and from anxieties crashing down the chain of command. Before he acts, he considers the costs as well as the benefits.

Harding had expressed these convictions years ago in peacetime, but did he have the courage to act upon them at Buna, where he was caught between enemy fortifications worthy of the Western Front and a living legend who insisted on victory at any price?

MANY who served with him believed the answer was yes. They were convinced that far from being too weak to succeed, as some in the army later concluded, Forrest Harding was too principled to add, in his words, "another bloody repulse" to history's long roll of military disasters by sacrificing his soldiers on the altar of Douglas MacArthur's impatience.

Of combat's three variables—time, equipment, and lives—it was better, he had told his officers, "to save lives and take a little longer to accomplish the mission."[20] While

[20] Anders, *Gentle Knight*, 226; also, author's interview with Father Austin Henry, July 12, 1982.

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*Heavily camouflaged Japanese coconut palm bunker being inspected by Allied troops during the New Guinea campaign, from the Sebring Collection.*

the 32nd Division was still in Australia he had written to his mother: "I want to bring as many of my Red Arrow lads back with me as I can. That ambition won't be furthered if we move in before we are good and ready to go."[21]

On November 22, an increasingly frustrated MacArthur ordered Harding to take Buna today "at all cost." The phrase conjures a massive do-or-die assault, and made Harding and his staff realize how out of touch with their dilemma their commander was. Like some high-ranking generals of the Great War, MacArthur was simply too distant, both physically and psychologically, to understand what the 32nd Division confronted at Buna.[22]

Harding therefore took it upon himself to reinterpret MacArthur's order in light of the obstacles his troops faced. On the Urbana front, he did aggressively seek a way around Japanese strongpoints, but he told the commander on the Warren front to push forward only if Japanese resistance gave way and advances were possible.

[21] Anders, *Gentle Knight*, 222.

[22] *Ibid.*, 252. See also Major General H. W. Blakeley, *The 32nd Infantry Division in World War II* (Madison, [undated, c. 1958]), 68–69.

Forty years later, several Harding loyalists, members of his headquarters staff, continued to maintain that Harding made a deliberate decision to take the heat from MacArthur rather than force assaults he did not believe stood a good chance of success. He also refused to replace his regimental commanders, though he was pressured from above to do so.[23] He did, however, continue to press MacArthur for tanks, howitzers, and the division's third regiment.

THE situation looked very different to MacArthur, who paced about in his new headquarters on the other side of the mountains in Port Moresby, acting out his anguish to his subordinates. ("Must I forever lead a forlorn hope?" was one of his more melodramatic lines.)[24] Convinced that all that was needed at Buna was a hard-nosed leader to make the troops fight, he sent for Lieutenant General Robert Eichelberger and ordered him to the front with these words: "Take Buna or don't come back alive."[25] It was the kind of order that strips a man's mental baggage down to bare essentials. Harding had gone into battle juggling a number of priorities. Eichelberger seems to have gone forward with only one.

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*Lieutenant General Robert Eichelberger was told by Douglas MacArthur to "Take Buna or don't come back alive." From the Philip Fox La Follette scrapbook.*

[23] Author's interviews with E. J. Kahn, Jr., September 13, 1979, and Robert Winkler, October 10, 1979. Kahn was an aide to Gen. Harding. Before entering the service he had been a staff writer with the *New Yorker*, and he continued to write for stateside magazines while in uniform. His two-part profile of Harding was appearing in the *New Yorker* as the 32nd Division went into action. Winkler, a young National Guard captain from Milwaukee, had been aide to Harding's predecessor, and Harding retained him as his assistant operations officer. Both Kahn and Winkler became very close to Harding, and both went with him when he was relieved of command. Winkler believed that MacArthur had pressed for a rapid victory so that he could announce the fall of Buna on December 7, the first anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Such a "publicity stunt," Winkler said, would have been "typical MacArthur."

[24] William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur, 1880–1964* (Boston, 1978), 325.

[25] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 204.

In keeping with the pattern of bad luck that had plagued Harding from the outset, Eichelberger arrived on December 1 and toured both fronts at mid-day, just after the fighting had died down from recent, failed attacks. Had he been up front a few hours earlier he would have heard gunfire and seen movement aplenty. But his first impression was of inertia and avoidance. He was sarcastic to Harding and to Harding's staff, and with MacArthur's theatrics no doubt ringing in his ears, he was inclined to see only those things that reinforced his preconceptions. Thus, instead of feverish men who needed medical care, he saw disheveled soldiers loitering behind the lines. Instead of a command structure thwarted by a lack of proper weapons to do the job, he saw officers who refused to lead. And so on.[26]

Strung out through the jungle on the night of December 2, stalemated riflemen clung to the roots of trees at the edge of the swamp or crouched in water-filled foxholes, trying to remain alert, trying to see through the dripping blackness. To their rear, two members of the West Point class of 1909—fellow Ohioans—met in a brief and bitter exchange. When it was over, one prepared to fly back to Moresby. Forrest Harding would never again command troops in combat.

Thus was the guard changed in Papua. Out with self-control and a concern for cost and benefit; in with a furious return to the "Do something!" frame of mind.

GEN. Eichelberger fired up the "canning factory" with a vengeance. Heads rolled. Most regimental- and battalion-level Guard officers were sent packing; new faces from his own staff replaced them. He was following MacArthur's lead: his own majors and colonels would make things happen where Harding and his National Guard officers had failed.

Ironically, Eichelberger was the beneficiary of a sudden improvement in supply. Just as Allied air power effectively reduced seaborne shipments for the Japanese, such shipments were becoming routine for the 32nd Division. During the first two weeks at Buna, the American troops got by on what Harding had called a "hand to mouth" supply system. But by early December, tons of food and ammunition were arriving by sea and air. Ships even brought in five Australian Bren carriers—lightly armored motor vehicles mounted on caterpillar treads. Meanwhile, the Japanese increasingly depended on an occasional airdrop for supplies, but less and less got through. Hunger was beginning to take a toll on the Japanese.

And so, with companies and battalions reorganized under new commanders, with warm chow up front and new stocks of ammunition at hand, with more experienced, better-coordinated air power at his disposal, Eichelberger promptly set about making the same mistakes all over again. Determined to take Buna right now, he orchestrated a complex series of attacks on both the Urbana and Warren fronts.

On December 5, the undergunned riflemen went back through the swamps into the same lethal fire from the same undamaged bunkers. There were some gains, though at great cost. On the Urbana front, when elements of the hard-luck 2nd battalion of the 126th bogged down under heavy fire, Eichelberger himself went forward and—over the protests of the colonel he had put in charge on that front—ordered Company F, from Grand Haven, Michigan, to attack and take Buna village. The remaining forty men of Company F started down both sides of a trail. Soon over half were dead or wounded, with nothing gained.

On the Warren front, attacks at both sides of the airstrip (known as the New Strip to

[26] *Ibid.*, 208–212; Anders, Gentle Knight, 258–269; also, author's interviews with Robert Winkler, with Herbert A. Smith, July 28, 1979, and with Herbert M. Smith, July 19, 1979.

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*U.S. troops enjoying Thanksgiving dinner, 1942, in a hidden spot twelve miles from Buna. This picture is labeled a rarity by Sebring.*

distinguish it from the adjacent Old Strip) were stopped cold once again. All five Bren carriers were promptly destroyed by the Japanese, and most of their crew members were killed or wounded. The 1st and 3rd battalions of the 128th again took heavy casualties, some platoons rushing forward only to get trapped in pointblank crossfire from Japanese bunkers. Efforts to overwhelm Japanese defending the footbridge over a swamp between the airstrips failed again, though Michigan companies from the 126th Regiment, which had been returned to the 32nd, destroyed some pillboxes and bunkers in the process. Eichelberger's "all out" attacks had eked out some tenuous penetrations on the Urbana front, but essentially they had "bounced off" the Japanese on the Warren front.[27]

EICHELBERGER finally concluded what Harding had known almost from day one: only tanks or the 32nd's new howitzers could break open the Warren front. Infantry alone could not do the job. Like Harding, he decided to concentrate his efforts on the Urbana front.

Eichelberger had learned something else during those first few days in command. By December 5, he was proud of the same soldiers he had scorned a few days earlier.

[27] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 241.

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*A bridge under construction by American engineers in New Guinea. A U.S. Signal Corps photo from the Phillip Fox La Follette scrapbooks.*

He sent a letter telling MacArthur to quit worrying about the 32nd Division: "The number of our troops who tried to avoid combat today could be numbered on your fingers."[28]

Eichelberger had the good fortune to take over just as the 127th Infantry was airlifted over the mountains, an injection of fresh troops made possible by the improved supply situation. Up to Urbana front came Company I, from Neenah, and Company K, from Milwaukee, replacing the decimated 2nd battalion of the 126th, which was down to one-third its original strength.

[28] Robert L. Eichelberger and Milton Mackaye, *Our Jungle Road to Tokyo* (New York, 1950), 29.

A few days later, the men of Company K followed a rolling barrage of mortar fire into the rubble of Buna village without being fired upon. The village was empty. Cut off from resupply, battered by air and ground attacks, the remaining Japanese had escaped westward up the coast the night before.

This was the first hole punched through the Japanese wall. Allied troops now controlled the western approaches to Buna Government Station except for an area designated the Coconut Grove, the last enemy stronghold on the west side of Entrance Creek, where another web of interconnected bunkers had held out against repeated attacks. At 3:00 in the afternoon on December 15, following an ef-

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*Soldiers aiming their .50-cal. Browning machine gun at Girua Point, near Buna.*

fective mortar barrage, Herbert A. Smith led a hundred men from his 2nd Battalion of the 128th—mostly men from the Portage, Beaver Dam, and Reedsburg companies—back into the grove. They pressed up tight against the enemy bunkers, where they remained through the night in a pouring rain.

The next morning, while on the phone with the Urbana Force commander, Smith watched two of his riflemen attack the main Japanese bunker. One of them was on the roof of the bunker, stuffing grenades through the firing slits. This, he realized, was the critical moment. Dropping the phone, he ran forward to rally his men. He personally took out one bunker with grenades and Tommy-gun fire. His men swarmed over the remaining bunkers. By noon they had cleared the Japanese from the grove. They found over three dozen enemy dead that day, and more the next day when they swept the area.[29]

Daniel Rini and Bernardino Estrada, the two GI's who had broken through to the main bunker, were killed in the action; both were decorated posthumously with the Distinguished Service Cross. All three Wisconsin officers leading troops into the Coconut Grove—Smith, Joseph Stehling, and Roy Zinzer—were also decorated for bravery.

THIS was a relatively large-scale attack for the Urbana front. Over the six weeks of the campaign, battalions had shrunk to the size of companies, companies to the size of platoons. Engagements were typically fought by a few dozen

[29] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 252–254; also, interview with Herbert A. Smith, July 28, 1979.

men. Patrols groped through swamp and jungle, trying to locate the enemy. When they found him, they returned to their own lines, and a plan of attack was drawn up. Soon, a company or what was left of a battalion attacked him or tried to work their way around him, only to run up against another web of bunkers and crossfire farther along.

Most of these actions were led by junior officers or noncoms like Staff Sergeant Herman Bottcher, a German immigrant who had fought with the loyalists in Spain. In early December he led a platoon from the 126th in a breakthrough to the beach, thus driving a wedge between Buna village and Buna Government Station. Bottcher's platoon held out against attacks from both the village and the station for nearly two weeks.

Or like the two sergeants from the 127th killed on the day before Christmas, both of whom were awarded the Medal of Honor—Elmer Burr of Neenah for throwing himself on an enemy grenade to save the men around him, and Kenneth Gruennert of Jefferson, who singlehandedly attacked and destroyed two bunkers that had pinned down his unit.

By mid-December of 1942 it was obvious the noose was tightening on the Japanese. The allies had effectively sealed off Buna by sea, air, and now by land. It was only a matter of time until the Japanese collapsed. The Australian in command north of the Owen Stanleys, General Edmund Herring, chided Eichelberger for pushing his attacks so relentlessly, rather than backing off to give the troops a break. But Eichelberger was still animated by MacArthur's sense of urgency, and he roamed the Urbana front, pressing sergeants and colonels to undertake the sort of high-risk assaults that inevitably increased the butcher's bill that Harding had worried about.

On December 18, he sent what was left of two companies of Michigan's 2nd Battalion of the 126th back into the Triangle. Of the 100 men who went in, forty were killed or wounded, including their commander. Two days later, a platoon of Sheboygan's Company E volunteered to infiltrate the Triangle and attack the bunkers with grenades. Against his better judgment, Eichelberger gave his approval. Forty green soldiers walked into a trap. Twenty-seven were killed or wounded.

Even so, Japanese resistance on the Urbana front was eroding under the continuing attacks of small units. But the Warren front was another story. Resistance there remained solid and unyielding until mid-December, when at last tanks began to arrive, five or six at a time, delivered by Allied ships that finally felt secure venturing along the northern coast of New Guinea. They were American-made Stuart tanks, manned by Australian crews—perfect for destroying Japanese pillboxes and bunkers.

On December 18th, the Aussies revved up their tanks and, accompanied by two companies of their own infantry, launched a sweep up the coast, covered on their left and in their rear by battalions from the 126th and 128th. The Americans and Australians moved straight north, then hooked west through a coconut grove and the jungle behind the two airstrips. By the grudging, gain-a-few-yards, lose-a-few-yards standards of this campaign, this five-day sweep gobbled up great stretches of land, rolling all the way to Semini Creek, about halfway to Buna Government Station, and breaking through successive lines of bunkers and pillboxes in the process. The enemy resisted fiercely, attacking the Aussie tanks with explosives and gasoline. Any tank that got hung up on a stump was soon swarming with Japanese infantrymen.

The fighting raged around the airstrips for another week, but when more tanks came forward, the advance continued over and around the strips and, by January 1, through the remaining strongpoints along the coast to within a few hundred yards of Buna Government Station. There, soldiers of the Warren Force attacking from the east

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*Robert Doyle (left) of the* Milwaukee Journal *with Phil La Follette, who was on MacArthur's staff.*

joined with those of the Urbana Force attacking from the west. Both forces linked up for a final assault on the government station—by now a shattered neighorhood of roofless, bullet-pocked houses and ventilated metal sheds—and on any starving, shell-shocked defenders who might still be able to resist.

TWO small-unit actions late in the campaign illustrate the nightmarish quality of combat at Buna. On the Urbana front, on December 21, Eichelberger ordered Milwaukee's Company K to cross Entrance Creek, a tidal waterway lying between the Americans and Buna Government Station. Another company of the 127th was to cross the creek farther inland, and together they were to establish a beachhead on the other side. The creek was perhaps fifty yards wide and eight to twelve feet deep at floodtide; a tidal creek might reach up to your waist at noon and up to your neck a few hours later.

Crossing such a creek was risky business in the best of times, but infinitely moreso with Japanese machine guns sited on the opposite bank. The company commander, Captain Albert Meyer, protested what seemed a suicidal order. His colonel agreed with him and went off to ask Eichelberger for more time. He soon returned, however, and told Meyer to start across, even if his men had to swim.[30] So the orders were given and the crossing began. The first Americans who approached the water in daylight were nearly blown away by machine-gun fire from across the creek. The crossing was postponed until after dark.

Robert Doyle, a correspondent for the *Milwaukee Journal*, was one of the few U.S. reporters up front with the Americans at Buna, and his dispatches still make powerful reading fifty years later. Here in part is what he wrote about Company K's crossing of Entrance Creek:

"At dusk the men prepared to cross the creek. There were 18 ready to cross under heavy enemy fire. The men thought they could wade the swift current but the creek proved to be too deep. Four men were killed or drowned and seven reached the opposite bank and lay in tall grass while the Japanese rained machine gun bullets and hand grenades among them. ... The four killed were Lieut. Ed Greene, Peachland, N.C., Pvt. Robert Packard of Milwaukee, Pvt. Dale Lewis of Whitehouse, Ohio, and Pvt. Frank Kowalski of Milwaukee. Packard

[30] The post of commander on the Urbana front had become such a hot potato that two of Eichelberger's colonels tried hard to avoid it, each arguing that the other should carry the ball. See Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 288.

WHi(X3)43514

*Men of Heavy Weapons Company, 1st Battalion, 127th Infantry Regiment, crossing bridge from Buna Village over Entrance Creek, January 1, 1943. U.S. Signal Corps photo.*

was killed as he stood chest deep in the water trying to help the others across.

"While the first men went over their heads wearing their clothes and carrying equipment, the others took off their clothes and held them above their heads to swim across. Pvt. Boyd Arnett lost his clothes in the swift current and reached the opposite bank naked.

"By this time it was dark and seven Americans hugged the ground on the opposite side under withering enemy fire. They lay there for nearly three hours before a canvas boat was found to carry the others across. ... About fifty men crossed in the boat during the night. [Probably ferrying themselves across using a rope brought over by the first waders.] Meanwhile the Japanese continued to fire and throw grenades in the darkness, and the Americans threw grenades back. At dawn some of the Americans found they were directly in front and within fifteen feet of log pillboxes. The shooting went on all day, but the Americans had little chance against the Japanese snipers and machine guns in the pillboxes. Twelve Americans were killed before the remainder withdrew across the creek at 4 pm."[31]

[31] Undated clipping from the *Milwaukee Journal* in Robert Doyle's scrapbook.

Once against it was a noncom—Staff Sergeant Milan Miljatovitch of Milwaukee—who was credited with organizing the crossing when things started to get out of hand, and he later helped several wounded to hang onto the bank, directly under the Japanese guns, until they could be rescued.

Samuel Milner, author of the army's official history of the Buna campaign, wrote that Company K suffered fifty-four casualties on the night of December 21-22, including forty who were wounded after crossing the creek. Some men drowned; they were seen next day bobbing in the creek.[32]

IN the late afternoon of December 28th, Marshfield's Company C moved into the jungle to relieve a company of Australians that had finally secured an airstrip known as the Old Strip, for which the fighting had gone on for weeks. At dusk, Company C fought off an attack by Japanese still roaming the jungle, then set up a perimeter for the night. Fighting continued nearby, and then at about four in the morning, men on perimeter guard heard the call of "Medic! Medic!" from back in their command post. For half an hour there were explosions and cries. Twenty to thirty Japanese soldiers had infiltrated the porous defense perimeter and stumbled upon wounded Australians and Americans grouped near the company command post. They bayoneted men on the ground and killed others with grenades and in hand-to-hand combat. As Robert Doyle wrote afterward: "Wounded men who crawled a few feet into the grass reported later that the Japanese who were not killed stayed in the command post for two hours, going through all the American packs and eating rations. ... Then they left, dragging their wounded with them but leaving behind their dead." Five Japanese bodies were found; fifteen Americans and Australians were killed, twelve wounded. Survivors believed it was the Japanese who had called for the medics, trying to draw more Yanks into the killing zone. Among those who died on that hellish night was Company C's fifth commander in about five weeks, a lieutenant named Donald Foss, who had originally been a sergeant in the Reedsburg unit.[33]

Multiply such experiences many times over and you have a sense of what those fellows who used to drill in the Guard armory down on Main Street went through in waging the U.S. Army's first ground offensive in the Pacific.

On January 2, 1943, soldiers from the 128th who had made their first moves against the Japanese six weeks earlier, and others from the 127th, cleared out the last enemy along the beach. Some Japanese hunkered down in their bunkers to die at their guns. They were burned out with aviation fuel or entombed with explosives. The two ranking Japanese commanders met and together committed hara-kiri.[34] A few Japanese surrendered, but most attempted to escape by sea. The Allied troops saw them offshore, swimming or clinging to logs or rafts, and soon those figures bobbing in the water were riddled with machine-gun and rifle fire. Artillery rounds exploded among them, and then the air force moved in, strafing the helpless enemy with bombers and fighter planes. From the very outset, war in the Pacific was war without mercy.

IN a dispatch written from Buna on January 2, Robert Doyle walked the reader across much of the battle-

[32] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 290.

[33] *Ibid.*, 280; *Milwaukee Journal*, March 18, 1943 (clipping in Robert Doyle's scrapbook).

[34] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 317. See also Lida Mayo, *Bloody Buna* (New York, 1974), 178, which states that one Japanese officer was shot down by the Aussies after he brandished his sword and refused to surrender; the other hanged himself.

WHi(X3)43512

*Soldiers of Company C, 127th Infantry, examining a bell, sword, and flag left behind by the Japanese at Buna Mission, January 3, 1943. U. S. Signal Corps photo.*

field, pointing out what he saw and smelled. Along a path leading to the airstrips he came across a series of crude crosses, each bearing a GI dog tag. Japanese rifles sticking in the ground further along indicated buried enemy soldiers. He walked the bridge over Semini Creek, which had been repaired under fire by our engineers so that tanks could cross and wreak havoc among enemy positions that had till then dominated the battle, and then he moved into a coconut grove literally blasted and shredded into oblivion by bombs, mortars, and artillery. There was a reek of unburied bodies, and of bodies deep in burned-out bunkers. From off in the distance came the sounds of gunfire where the last pockets of die-hard Japanese were being blasted and burned.

He reminds us to pause and take a salt pill because of the heat, and then walks us into the remains of the government station:

"Those burned and battered buildings ahead are what is left of Buna Mission. One was the magistrate's home; another was Bunting's General Store, another was a small hospital, and others were homes of whites in peacetime. Scattered about the frame and sheet iron buildings are Japanese pillboxes and air raid shelters. Beyond them are remains of five Japanese invasion barges wrecked by our planes and washed up along the beach.

"A few hundred yards west on the sea is Buna Village, captured by the Yanks December 14. Here is a soldier taking life easy in this scene of destruction. It is Private Walter Gerber, 23, of Cottage Grove, Wisconsin, sitting on the sandy beach in a wicker armchair, smoking a cigaret and reading the Sun Prairie Countryman of

October 15. Beside him is his machine gun pointing out to sea."[35]

The 127th infantry remained in action for another three weeks, helping to clear the Japanese from positions farther up the coast, but the battle was over for the 128th and for most of the 126th.

The Japanese lost upwards of 12,000 men throughout the five months of the Papuan campaign. (Their troops suffered terrible hardships toward the end; when the last battle was over, the Allies found evidence of cannibalism among the Japanese at Sanananda Point.) The Australians lost 2,000 men. The 32nd Division suffered 690 killed and nearly 1,700 wounded during its two months in combat.[36] Approximately two of every seven Red Arrow soldiers at the front became battle casualties. Add to these the many brought down by malaria and other diseases, and the casualty rate in the division approaches 90 per cent. Not a single officer remained in five companies of the 126th Infantry Regiment. At the end of the campaign, the combined enlisted strength of those five companies was seventy-six men.

Newman Enloe, an officer who had been with Platteville's Company M for many years before being reassigned to the Air Corps, was stationed at Port Moresby when the 32nd Division was flown back over the mountains. He went to the airfield to find members of his old company. He recognized them, but just barely. Twenty-year-old soldiers looked, in his words, "like a bunch of old men."[37]

FROM fifty years' distance, it seems obvious that if the right kind of firepower had been brought to the front at the beginning—especially American 105mm howitzers—the 32nd Division would have suffered fewer casualties, and the battle would have ended sooner. On the other hand, if MacArthur had decided at a certain point simply to sit tight, that too would have saved American lives. To quote from the U.S. Army's official history: "Starvation had been a potent factor, ... and had the allies not been so determined to [achieve victory] by direct attack, hunger would in due course have accomplished the same thing."[38] From the Buna campaign until the end of the war, the Japanese lost 148,000 men in New Guinea—many from starvation or disease after having been cut off and driven deep into the remorseless jungle.[39]

Edwin Forrest Harding never went public with his side of the story, though other generals had much to say about Buna in their postwar memoirs: Gen. Eichelberger in *Our Jungle Road to Tokyo*, Gen. Kenney in *General Kenney Reports*, Gen. Walter Krueger in *From Down Under to Nippon*, and Gen. MacArthur in his *Reminiscences*.

What Harding thought of all these is not known, though E. J. Kahn, Jr., the *New Yorker* writer who was on Harding's staff through much of the war and who remained a close friend thereafter, believed that Buna weighed heavily on Harding for the rest of his life. "We hardly ever talked about anything else," Kahn said later. "We went through it over and over." Harding's biographer, Leslie Anders, wrote that Harding "was resentful. For the rest of his life he held Eichelberger responsible for his undoing before Buna, and it affected the atmosphere of their class reunions at the Academy."[40]

[35] *Milwaukee Journal*, January 9, 1943.

[36] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 370–372. In fact the Allied casualties sustained in the Buna campaign were higher than those suffered by the U.S. Marine Corps and Army at Guadalcanal.

[37] Author's interview with Newman Enloe, May 22, 1979.

[38] Milner, *Victory in Papua*, 374.

[39] Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War* (New York, 1992), 267.

[40] Kahn interview with author, September 13, 1979; Anders letter to author, June 10, 1981. Fortunately, Harding did not live to see the movie biography *MacArthur* (1977), featuring Gregory Peck in

Harding did record his version of events in a wartime diary, and some evidence of his feelings about Eichelberger are apparent in his response to Eichelberger's criticism that troops on the Warren front were not attempting to infiltrate through the Japanese defenses: "I pointed out that they were up against a continuous front and that infiltration tactics were not practicable in such a situation.... I was not making any speeches, for I didn't feel that any were needed. I was simply trying to establish in his mind a few incontrovertible facts. I didn't feel disposed to make fine fighting speeches for the purpose of trying to make myself solid with my superior."[41] This last sentence has a particularly strong ring to it in light of Harding's refusal to knuckle under to MacArthur or his surrogates. By contrast, Eichelberger, in Harding's opinion, "was exceedingly sensitive to the expressed directions of his superiors."[42] In other words, what MacArthur (and the Army) viewed as Eichelberger's great strength, Harding viewed as weakness.

In a letter he wrote to MacArthur on December 7, 1942, five days after his relief from command of the 32nd Division, Harding stated: "General Eichelberger's questioning of the men on his visit to the front lines before the enemy strong point on the edge of Buna disclosed no enthusiasm for making any further attempt to rout the Japs out with the means at hand.... [B]ut I cannot agree with General Eichelberger's conclusion that the men 'were licked.' The impression I got ... was that the men still had plenty of fight left but had no stomach for another go at a position which had beaten off four attacks. They felt, and with good reason, that the bunkers and strong fixed defences that had held them up should be blasted out before they went at it again." This was a diplomatic restatement of Harding's long-held conviction, reflected in his repeated requests for tanks and howitzers, that heavy weapons were needed to reduce the Japanese strongpoints. *With the means at hand*, not even the bravest and boldest troops could crack the enemy defenses. Further "do something" assaults would only add to the butcher's bill.[43]

In 1946 Harding retired to the huge old family home in Franklin, Ohio, where the rest of his years were tinged with sadness. In 1951, the daughter whose schoolgirl letters had followed him across the Pacific died of cancer. Forrest, Jr., the Hardings' youngest son and also a West Point graduate, never adjusted to peacetime and died in 1967, some years after having been disabled in an auto accident. Finally, their oldest son, Davis, a professor of literature at Yale whose visits were the highlight of the Hardings' summers, died in 1970. Harding and his wife outlived three of their four children.

Throughout these years, however, Harding remained the favorite general of 32nd Division veterans. He was always the center of attention at reunions, and some who served with him in the Pacific continued to call on him in Ohio. Long after his retirement, Red Arrow veterans presented their old commander with a bronze Red

aviator sunglasses with the famous corncob pipe. In one scene a small man strides alongside MacArthur, trying to keep up and voicing one protest after another, until MacArthur unloads on him: "Harding, I want action from you, not complaints!" The scene is unusually cruel and mistaken, even by Hollywood standards.

[41] Edwin F. Harding, December 2, 1942, in his Buna Diary, a typed manuscript in the Harding Memorial Museum, Franklin, Ohio.

[42] Harding to Samuel Milner, author of the Army's official history of the Buna campaign, July 24, 1951.

[43] Harding to MacArthur, December 7, 1942, in the Samuel Milner file, National Archives. Another of Harding's West Point 1909 classmates, George S. Patton, expressed much the same viewpoint when he told his troops: "No bastard ever won a war by dying for his country. He won it by making the other poor bastard die for his country."

Arrow plaque which he and Mrs. Harding embedded in their patio, the arrow pointing northwest, toward Michigan and Wisconsin, the home states of the men he had led in battle.

THE standard lessons drawn by the Army from Buna are embodied in Gen. Eichelberger's conduct of the campaign. He is viewed as a "take charge" leader who transformed a static situation into a dynamic one, reorganizing units, confronting subordinates, firing up the troops, and personally directing them to victory. In this version of events, Gen. Harding does not measure up.[14]

But an altogether different lesson may be drawn from the Buna campaign—one that vindicates Harding and explains the extraordinary loyalty many of his staff and soldiers continued to feel for him long after the war was over. This lesson is implicit in the manner in which MacArthur fought his way northward to the Philippines after the close of the campaign in Papua. "No more Bunas" became his watchword. After Buna, MacArthur avoided direct assaults whenever possible, choosing instead to cut off the enemy, to isolate him from his supplies, and compel him either to wither on the vine or attack on our terms, into the teeth of massed firepower. In short, just the sort of thing that Gen. Harding would have recommended, given the time and means to do the job.

Judging from how future campaigns were conducted in the Southwest Pacific, the lessons that people like George Marshall and Forrest Harding had been teaching all through the peacetime years would not be ignored again. The Buna campaign represented a bridge between a U.S. Army with its back to the wall and one confident that the initiative was in its hands. The war had begun badly, with the Last Stand expediencies of Bataan and Corregidor; it concluded with the sophisticated teamwork and massive firepower that made MacArthur's advance to the Philippines a relatively one-sided affair.

The 32nd Division fought all that way and beyond. It was to the men of the Red Arrow that the Japanese commander in the Philippines surrendered in September, 1945. But the turning point had been Buna.

"After Buna," the men who were there will tell you, "it was a different war."

[14] Luvaas, "Buna," *passim.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

*J. P. Ball, Daguerrean and Studio Photographer.* Edited by DEBORAH WILLIS. (Garland Publishing, Inc., New York, 1993. Pp. xix, 310. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, postscript, chronology of Ball's works. ISBN 0-8153-0716-0, $130.00.)

James Presley Ball, nineteenth-century daguerreotypist and photographer, and Deborah Willis, twentieth-century art historian and iconographic curator at the Smithsonian, have combined to create a compelling narrative. Six years after the daguerreotype process came to this country, Ball learned its secrets from the black photographer, John B. Bailey. The place was White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, the year 1845. Ball was twenty years old. From then until rheumatism ended his professional life, J. P. Ball practiced the art of photography.

His early efforts, much like those of many other men and the few women who tried their hand at this new career, were financial failures. In Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, Ball's fortune was more hand-to-mouth than fulfilling. Then in Richmond, Virginia, and as an Ohio itinerant, he began to taste success. Back in Cincinnati by 1849, Ball flourished. On January 1, 1851, he opened a second gallery of four rooms on three upper floors of a building, located, he wrote, "on the most fashionable thoroughfare" of the city. The decor of the reception gallery, a room twenty by forty feet, was a Victorian paradise, highlighted with gold leaf, floral designs, pastel shades and painted figures representing the goddesses of Music, Science, Poesy, and Religion in various stages of dress. Two "operating" rooms were set aside for sittings, one for children and the other for adults.

His expanding reputation encouraged him to undertake a major enterprise, *Ball's Splendid Mammoth Pictorial Tour of the United States Comprising Views of the African Slave Trade; of Northern and Southern Cities; of Cotton and Sugar Plantations of the Mississippi, Ohio and Susquehanna Rivers, Niagara Falls, &C.* in 1855. He took the painted panorama on tour and his succinct description of it, published the same year in pamphlet form (which Willis reproduces in this volume), stands firmly in the abolitionist tradition so well described in Benjamin Quarles' *Black Abolitionists.* Ball's condemnation of slavery pulled no punches.

J. P. Ball was an African-American who beat the odds with ability and perseverance. He was one of the earliest black portrait photographers and his clientele knew no racial boundaries. Proud of his Afro-American heritage, Ball blamed the slave trade for destroying Africa's legitimate trade which, he argued, would have placed that

continent and its people "high in the scale of civilization." In Cincinnati, Ball and his first wife, Fannie, and their two children traveled in elite black society circles. As a fundraiser for the African Methodist Church's weekly newspaper, *The Christian Recorder*, in November, 1866, Ball photographed the visiting editor, James Lynch, and donated the portrait prints to be sold at Lynch's lecture. A year later, he was identified as an agent for Wilberforce University of Xenia, Ohio, raising money for a replacement building.

Ball was not rooted to any special place. He had traveled in Europe in 1856, and two decades or so later moved to Minneapolis, where his success continued. He married again in 1887, and shortly thereafter made plans to move to Helena, Montana. Active in African-American society there, he was acknowledged as a leading photographer, designated to record the cornerstone laying for the state capitol. He also photographed politicians, recent immigrants, local conventions, and two hangings, one a black man, the other white. At the turn of the century Ball moved to Seattle, setting up shop with the help of his family, including a third wife. He died in his seventy-ninth year, probably in Hawaii.

Willis has included a succinct biographical statement in which brevity is dictated by the absence of data. We need to know more about Ball as a photographer, a family man, and a front-line black leader in the municipalities in which he lived. Because he moved with apparent ease within his black communities and between the races, his story has a wider significance than might initially appear.

The slim narrative of Ball's life and career emerges in both words and pictures. Willis provides a useful chronology of his cities of residence and studio locations, but the photographs provide visual evidence of maturation, success, and excellence. The early daguerreotypes and ambrotypes show the photographer trying to put his subjects at ease: his relaxed brother-in-law, face on fist, a seated woman with her elbow comfortably placed on a table, and two young girls, one standing resting her hand in the seated one's lap. The stereotypical grim-faced subjects are largely missing from Ball's portfolio.

A photographic collection exposes raw historical data at various levels. At its most primitive, the photograph is a piece of material culture, a time slice which may reveal dress and hair styles, events and activities, urban and rural landscapes, or other phenomena, depending on the subject matter. A more penetrating layer suggests technological improvements and the maturing skill of the photographer. A still deeper layer was suggested by the late Paul Vanderbilt, a pioneer iconographer and Society staff member. Writing in this *Magazine* in 1958 about photographic collections, Vanderbilt called upon the viewer "to assimilate and synthesize from a picture-puzzle scattering of stimuli." The success of this effort will depend upon the "editor's sense of form in creating a framework for association."

Willis presents a portfolio in which photographs as material culture and as evidence of technological skill are readily detected. Because she has published all of the known Ball photographs, over 200 of them, it is difficult to see the "framework" other than the talented hand of the photographer. Difficult, but not impossible. A careful study of these photographs, dismissing some and going back to others, does enable the viewer to come to some speculative conclusions about what Alan Trachtenberg in his *Reading American Photographs*, calls "explanatory accounts of collective reality."

The photographs from the Cincinnati years are exclusively portraits, but even these poses of men, women, and children, African-American and Anglo, reflect a society grappling for recognition as "civilized" by more established [i.e. eastern] communities. Whatever the pose, whatever the dress, the Cincinnati prints suggest style and modernity; the more or less relaxed poses so characteristic of the Ball approach im-

plies a community self-confidence, an emerging sophistication, an expanding middle and upper class.

Second in quantity but not quality to the Cincinnati pictures are those from Ball's Helena, Montana, years. They are outstanding for clarity and detail, light and shadow. The 1889 portrait of Annie Herrmann, for example, is a classic semi-profile with a shadowed corsage subordinated to her softly highlighted face. Even the dimple on her chin is faintly, and proportionately, visible. In Helena, Ball recorded outdoor events like a carriage decorated for a parade, the cornerstone laying of the state capitol, Montana Methodist Conference delegates (white), and two hangings. His elegant portraits of African-American men as prosperous and well established document the vigor of a separate black community in Helena, while the portraits of African-American women are too few in number for evaluation.

A few minor errors of identification, like a half-column called a sofa and a cigar called a cigarette meld with some unnoticed mysteries like a hanging victim's wedding band which is missing from his pre-hanging portrait. These are more of a challenge than a detraction for the viewer; in no way do they diminish the book's utility.

Willis has compiled a special book about a special man with a special talent. Her previous publications, all dealing with black photographer-artists, have prepared her to sketch the Ball story with understanding and appreciation. Her artistic and technical skills add an imaginative dimension to an informative and innovative presentation.

LESLIE H. FISHEL, JR.
*Madison, Wisconsin*

**Correction**

In R. David Myers' review in the Autumn, 1993, issue of Cynthia B. Costello's book *We're Worth It: Women and Collective Action in the Insurance Workplace*, the CUNA Mutual Insurance Group was erroneously identified as "CUNA" and the acronym as "Credit Union of North America." In fact, CUNA Mutual Insurance Group (or CUNA Mutual) is a distinct organization from CUNA (the Credit Union National Association), and there is no such organization as the "Credit Union of North America."

## Accessions

Services for microfilming, xeroxing, and photostating all but certain restricted items in its manuscript collections are provided by the Society.

### General Collections

Usually this feature lists newly arranged manuscript collections available for research. This time a small portion of Archives Division business records holdings which recently have been microfilmed and described more thoroughly than previously was the case are spotlighted. The improved descriptions and the fact that the records now exist on microfilm, which is available via interlibrary loan, means users have greatly improved access to these materials.

The microfilmed materials are extensive portions of the records of the Cyrus H. McCormick family and businesses and the records of the Singer Manufacturing Company. Each of these companies achieved preeminence in its field and exerted a major influence on society.

The roots of the McCormick Company are traced to the invention of the first successful agricultural reaper by Cyrus Hall McCormick in 1831. It and subsequent machinery perfected by McCormick and his company revolutionized agricultural production. By 1884 the McCormick works was producing 55,000 machines annually and had only one major competitor in the agricultural implement field. In 1902, when McCormick merged with its major competitor and three smaller implement manufacturers to form International Harvester, the new combination controlled approximately 85 per cent of the American reaper and harvester market.

Just as McCormick changed agriculture, Singer forever altered the nature of domestic work in American households. Singer also affected work outside the home as clothing and other textile goods began to be mass produced using the technology of the sewing machine. The Singer Company grew from an 1851 partnership between inventor Isaac Merritt Singer and attorney Edward Clark. I. M. Singer was one of several to perfect workable sewing machines about 1850. Resultant conflict over rights led to this country's first "patent pool" under which Singer and three other companies shared sewing machine patents and paid a royalty to the pool for each machine sold. By 1880 Singer's competitors had largely disappeared, and it had a near monopoly on the world sewing machine market.

McCormick and Singer achieved their status within their respective industries through innovative business practices. In *The Visible Hand: the Managerial Revolution in American Business*, historian Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. uses the two as case studies to demonstrate the movement of American industry into the modern era. They were among "the first to integrate mass production with mass distribution...." The key to Singer's success was its marketing organization which utilized branch stores supervised by salaried, regional agents. McCormick, on the other hand, pioneered in the use of franchised dealers backed by a regional office network. Under these structures the two companies were able to develop the services necessary to prosper in the emerging mass production economy—demonstration, installation, after-sales service and repair, and consumer credit.

McCormick and Singer were also among the first multinational corporations. Almost from their beginnings both made concerted efforts to expand into overseas markets. Singer built its first overseas factory in Scotland in 1867, and by 1878 it had twenty-six regional sales offices in the United Kingdom, fifty-three in northern and central Europe, and smaller numbers in southern Europe, Africa, the Near East, Latin America, Canada, and the Far East. According to Robert B. Davies, author of *Peacefully Working to Conquer the World: Singer Sewing Machines in Foreign Markets*, Singer's methods for entering foreign markets served as models for other United States firms.

WHi(X3)17259

*A chromolithic postcard for Manila, one in a series Singer Manufacturing Company issued in the late nineteenth century showing people of various nations using their sewing machines.*

Preservation and description work on these collections has occurred over the past four years under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Additional unprocessed materials were integrated into previously processed holdings and a total of 1,658 reels of 35mm microfilm was produced in the Historical Society's microfilm lab. Below is a brief summary of the Singer records and the four series of McCormick records included in this project.

The Singer Manufacturing Company records, 1950–ca. 1975, exist partially in the original paper format and partially on microfilm. The collection includes background and miscellaneous historical materials, incorporation records, outgoing and incoming administrative correspondence, advertising materials and publications, subject files, and legal and financial materials.

The outgoing correspondence (primarily 1877 to 1924 and, for the most part, available on microfilm) includes letters dating from the presidencies of George McKenzie, Frederick G. Bourne, and Douglas Alexander that concern domestic and foreign management policy and routine administrative matters. Incoming correspondence consists of routine letters received at the New York executive office from 1861 to 1879, and letters and reports from both domestic (1851–1904) and foreign (1854–1909) agencies and factories.

Legal records and correspondence, 1846–1906, pertain to patent assignments, litigation, and contracts. There are also court documents and transcripts, files of published patent decisions, miscellaneous patent drawings, and information on the acquisition and management of various properties and buildings.

Advertising material consists of incoming letters, 1868–1978, and samples of nineteenth-century advertising, company publications, brochures, and blank forms. Subject files include circular letters, examiners' reports on company problems, and

traveling notebooks of company executives. There are also extensive files about losses experienced in Russia following the 1917 Revolution, in central Europe during the 1930's and 1940's, and in Japan and Germany during World War II.

A large quantity of nineteenth-century financial records pertain to overall financial operations as monitored by the New York City office and to the operations at the Elizabethport, New Jersey, factory. Included are general ledgers and journals, cashbooks, check registers, and some payroll records. Accounting source documents such as bills and receipts document operational details of the 1850's. A few records and letterbooks relate to subsidiary companies or companies acquired by Singer such as the Wheeler and Wilson Company, the Morley Sewing Machine Company, and the National Machine Company.

The Singer collection totals 90 cubic feet of paper records and 579 reels of 35mm microfilm (plus additional unprocessed materials, many of which have restrictions on access). The descriptive register containing additional details on the collection's contents and organization also is available on microfilm.

Four McCormick series were microfilmed under the NEH grant. Series 3C is letterpress copy books, 1891–1928, containing outgoing correspondence of Cyrus Hall McCormick, Jr., president of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company (later International Harvester), 1884–1918, and chairman of the board, 1918–1935. The letters reflect external business conditions including the unsuccessful attempt in 1890 to combine with other companies to form the American Harvester Company; the successful consolidation with the Deering Harvester Company and other companies to form International Harvester; the role of J. P. Morgan and Company in effecting that consolidation; and problems attendant to the government's subsequent anti-trust suit. Internal operations such as plant expansions, introduction of new lines, and domestic and foreign marketing are also covered. Other topics include McCormick's personal investments; his service as trustee of Princeton University, 1889–1936; and his role as a member of the government's special diplomatic mission to Russia (the Root Commission) in 1917. This series totals 72 reels of microfilm.

Series 1X is letterpress copy books, 1856–1902, containing outgoing correspondence of McCormick Harvesting Machine Company officials and secretaries. They wrote to agents, suppliers, shippers, lawyers, inventors, and other manufacturers concerning both domestic operations and foreign trade. Topics include sales and production goals; field trials and machine performance; prices and contracts; agricultural conditions; arrangements for supplying parts, repairs, and twine; competitors and their practices; problems with unreliable agents; collection policies; agent expenses and commissions; freight routes and costs; and the expansion of the agricultural implement trade.

Three letterbooks of R. B. Swift deal with patent matters and inventions and improvements to McCormick implements. Three volumes contain the outgoing correspondence of field agents J. B. Heywood of Indianapolis, D. W. Pratt of St. Louis, and N. E. Barnes of San Francisco. One volume of circular letters to agents contains instructions on prices, sales and advertising strategy, assembly of machines, and similar matters. One letterbook is that of Harold F. McCormick as company vice-president, 1899–1900. Letters of Cyrus H. McCormick, particularly concerning foreign markets, appear after he joined the company in 1879. This series totals 472 reels of microfilm.

Series 2X is incoming correspondence and reports, 1849–1902, received by the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company and its predecessors, C. H. McCormick and Co. (1848–1859), C. H. McCormick & Bros. (1859–1866), C. H. McCormick & Bro. (1866–1874), and C. H. & L. J. McCormick (1874–1879). Included are letters from company agents, field experts, shippers, suppliers and customers regarding orders, sales, credit, shipments, price and perfor-

WHi(HH)37449

*Photographing a Farmall tractor for an International Harvester promotional piece in 1929.*

mance of machines and repairs, field trials, competition in the implement business, crop yields and damage due to insects and weather, rural and foreign economic conditions, travel and branch office expenses, and employment opportunities.

Letters, legal documents, drawings, and plans from patent experts and inventors concern cases of infringement, experimental machines, the design of new devices, and proposed improvements. Reports from agents are primarily contracts and financial accounts of machine sales, deliveries, and inventories, debt collection, and expenses. Among the subjects documented are the structure and activities of the company's domestic and foreign sales force, expansion of trade, customer relations, and patent issues. Copies of outgoing letters are sometimes present, particularly in later years. This series totals 418 reels of microfilm.

Series 3X consists of financial, distribution, and production records, 1848–1903, of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company. The series includes records of general financial accounts, agencies, customer accounts, factory shipments and stock (1857–1902), twine accounts (1888–1902), and real estate and rentals (1862–1901). Among the most informative materials are those documenting the company's pioneering use of franchised dealers backed by a regional network. These materials include agent's reaper sales records, reports on sub-agents, and the agent's settlements with the company. Of interest are records documenting the distribution of McCormick machines in a particular region; factory shipment records, reaper orders, and deliveries. Also of interest are records documenting the company's credit system to customers: sales and bills receivable and notes. The series totals 117 reels of microfilm.

## Wisconsin History Checklist

Recently published and currently available Wisconsiana added to the Society's Library are listed below. The compilers, Gerald R. Eggleston, Acquisitions Librarian, and Susan Dorst, Assistant Acquisitions Librarian, are interested in obtaining information about (or copies of) items that are not widely advertised, such as publications of local historical societies, family histories and genealogies, privately printed works, and histories of churches, institutions, or organizations. Authors and publishers wishing to reach a wider audience and also to perform a valuable bibliographic service are urged to inform the compilers of their publications, including the following information: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, price, pagination, and address of supplier. Write Susan Dorst, Acquisitions Section.

Billings, Robert E. *As Once We Were: a Pictorial History of Clintonville, Wisconsin.* (Iola, Wisconsin, Krause Publications, c1993. Pp. 304. Illus. $40.00 plus $4.00 postage and handling. Available from Clintonville Area Historical Society, Richard Beggs, President, 38 South Main Street, Clintonville, Wisconsin 54929.)

*Celebrating a Proud Past — Sharing the Challenges of the Future: 125 Years of Service and Security, Catholic Family Life Insurance, 1868–1993.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1993. Pp. 40. Illus. No price listed. Available from Catholic Family Life Insurance, 1572 East Capitol Drive, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211.)

Cigler, Paul J., Jr. *Two Rivers and the Populist Party in the 1890's.* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin, Manitowoc County Historical Society, Occupational Monograph 71, Series 1993. Pp. 6. Illus. No price listed. Available from Manitowoc County Historical Society, P.O. Box 574, Manitowoc, Wisconsin 54221-0574.)

Ducklow, Mary Ellen. *1930s-Something, a Nice Neighborhood with Tall Trees.* (Appleton, Wisconsin, Perin Press, c1993. Pp. 146. Illus. $29.95. Available from Outagamie County Historical Society, Museum Shop, 330 East College Avenue, Appleton, Wisconsin 54911.) Reminiscences of Appleton in the 1930's.

Everson, Jeff. *Milwaukee Brewers Facts & Trivia.* (Wautoma, Wisconsin, E. B. Houchin Company, 1993. Pp. 63. Illus. $4.99. Available from author, 180 Auto Street, Clintonville, Wisconsin 54929.)

Fay, Georgia M. *The Schroeder Brothers Company of Two Rivers, 1891–1991: a Family Tradition of Retail Business.* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin, Manitowoc County Historical Society, Occupational Monograph 69, Series 1991. Pp. 7. Illus. No price listed. Available from Manitowoc County Historical Society, P.O. Box 574, Manitowoc, Wisconsin 54221-0574.)

Georgeson, Patricia A. *Alvin Georgeson Ancestry: the Georgeson Family from Hafslo, Norway to Lodi, Wisconsin.* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1992. 1 vol. No price listed. Available from author, 114 Standish Court, Madison, Wisconsin 53705.)

Gross, Herbert M. *The History of the Gross and Hackbarth Families in the United States.* (Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin, 1993. Pp. 56. No price listed. Available from author, N85 W15700 Ridge Road, Menomonee Falls, Wisconsin 53051-2980.)

Hall, Mary Jean Trommetter Wickert. *A Family History Scrapbook: Jacob Wickert, Sr. and Marie Catherine Auguststein of Prussia and Fond du Lac, Wisconsin and Their Descendants.* (Charleston, West Virginia, 1993. Pp. xi, 358. Illus. No price listed. Available from author, 1101 Hunters Ridge Road, Charleston, West Virginia 25314-2461.)

Hansen, Steven C.; Jones, Steven W.; and Van Thiel, John A. *History of the Racine Fire*

*Department: 150 Years of Fire Protection in Racine, Wisconsin.* (Racine?, Wisconsin, c1992. Pp. 136. Illus. $38.00 plus $4.00 postage and handling. Available from Steve Hansen, 144 Merrie Lane, Racine, Wisconsin 53405-2024.)

*Index to the 1878 Plat Map of Dodge County, Wisconsin.* (Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, 1993. 1 vol. No price listed. Available from Beaver Dam Community Library, 311 North Spring Street, Beaver Dam, Wisconsin 53916.)

*Iron River, Wisconsin, Centennial, 1892–1992.* (Iron River?, Wisconsin, 1992. Pp. [6], 231. Illus. $20.00 plus $2.00 postage and handling. Available from Leila Hoefling, Box 62, 418 Pine Street, Iron River, Wisconsin 54847.) There is a separate index available.

Kelley, Tim. *Good as Gold: a History of Banking in Wisconsin.* (Madison?, Wisconsin, c1992. Pp. xii, 239. Illus. $35.00 plus $3.00 postage and handling. Available from Wisconsin Bankers Association, One East Main Street, P.O. Box 1667, Madison, Wisconsin 53701.)

Kunz, Frederick. *History of the Kunz Family in the Brewing Industry in Manitowoc, Wisconsin.* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin, Manitowoc County Historical Society, Occupational Monograph 70, Series 1992. Pp. 8. Illus. No price listed. Available from Manitowoc County Historical Society, P.O. Box 574, Manitowoc, Wisconsin 54221-0574.)

Lee, Roy E. *The Old Timer.* (Eau Claire, Wisconsin, Heins Publications, c1993. Pp. 534. Illus. $14.00 plus $3.50 postage and handling. Available from Mondovi Area Historical Society, 235 West Vine, Mondovi, Wisconsin 54753.) Collection of the author's columns from the *Mondovi Herald-News.*

Lehner, George A. *A Backward Glance (a Narrative History of Palmyra & the Surrounding Area) Book 2.* (Palmyra?, Wisconsin, 1993? Pp. 32. Illus. $4.50. Available from *Palmyra Enterprise,* 106 West Main Street, Palmyra, Wisconsin 53156.)

*Once Upon a Time...Gordon A. Bubolz, His Life and Vision.* (Amherst, Wisconsin, c1992. Pp. xiii, 107. Illus. $19.95. Available from Palmer Publications, Inc., Amherst, Wisconsin 54406.) Bubolz was a state senator for the 14th District from 1944–1953 and a leading environmentalist.

Pattison, Mary Ann. *Buffalo County, a Pictorial History.* (Virginia Beach, Virginia, Donning Company, 1993. Pp. 128. Illus. $28.45. Available from Buffalo County Historical Society, 407 South Second Street, P.O. Box 87, Alma, Wisconsin 54610-0087.)

Raasch, Janet Ellen. *With Time on Our Side: a Centennial History of Time Insurance Company.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, c1992. Pp. 127. Illus. No price listed. Available from Milwaukee County Historical Society, 910 North Old World Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203.)

Shafer, Mary A. *Wisconsin: the Way We Were.* (Minocqua, Wisconsin, c1993. Pp. 140. Illus. $19.95. Available from Heartland Press, P.O. Box 1360, Minocqua, Wisconsin 54548.)

Strong, Carol Dooley. *A Strong Family Tree.* (Hales Corner, Wisconsin, 1993. Pp. [12], 231, [20]. Illus. $50.00. Available from author, P.O. Box 901, Hales Corners, Wisconsin 53130.)

Tiedt, Carl. *Tiedt-Knoblauch & Skalitzky-Veith Family History.* (Granger?, Indiana, 1993. Pp. 110. Illus. $10.00. Available from author, St. Joseph's Farm, 52682 Currant Road, Granger, Indiana 46530.)

# Proceedings of the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Annual Business Meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1992–1993

## Minutes of the Annual Meeting

THE 147th annual business meeting was called to order by the president, Dr. Fannie E. Hicklin, at 8:00 A.M. in the Lichtenstein Room, Interlaken Resort and Country Spa, Lake Geneva, on June 4, 1993. Sixty members and guests were present.

It was voted that the minutes of the June 12, 1992, meeting, published in the Autumn, 1992, issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* be approved.

Mr. Franke, chair, nominating committee, reported that 1,465 members voted in the recent Board of Curators election. No names had been submitted by petition.

*Re-elected to three-year terms expiring in June, 1996:*

Mrs. Jane Bernhardt, *Cassville*
Mrs. Vivian Guzniczak, *Franklin*
Dr. George H. Miller, *Ripon*
Mr. Elbert S. Bohlin, *Mineral Point*
Judge Paul C. Gartzke, *Madison*

*Elected to three-year terms expiring in June, 1996:*

Mrs. Mary Sather, *New Richmond*
Dr. Charles Haas, *La Crosse*
Mr. Luke Beckerdite, *Milwaukee*

President Hicklin reported the election of the following officers for two-year terms:

President: Dr. Fannie E. Hicklin
First Vice-president: Mr. Glenn R. Coates
Second Vice-president: Mrs. Jane Bernhardt
Treasurer: Mr. Gerald D. Viste

Mr. Viste, treasurer, reported on the financial activities of the Society for the current fiscal year, characterizing it as a successful year for the Society. The General Purpose Revenue Budget for the current fiscal year which ends June 30, 1993 is $8.3 million, an increase of 9.4 per cent from fiscal year 1992. Additional funding for Archives, Library, Historic Sites, Development, and the Office of School Services, permanent staff pay plan, Museum utilities, and Historic Sites debt service accounted for the increase.

In addition to the General Purpose Revenue, the Society has four program revenue sources: gifts and donations; interest and dividends earned on its endowment; federal funds; and income from the sale of goods and services. Excluding Circus World Museum, state funding provides about 63 per cent of the operating budget, with program revenues providing the balance.

Gifts and Donations of $441,900 received during the first eleven months of fiscal year 1993 showed an increase of 26 per cent over the same period last year. Fiscal year 1992 had an increase of 66 per cent over the

previous year. The Society, Mr. Viste concluded, experienced a substantial growth in gifts and donations.

The Society's endowment, managed by statute by the State Investment Board, earned $270,656 in the first ten months, an increase of $22,271. Realized capital gains were $204,287 versus $245,701 last year. The Society's endowment was $4.6 million as of June 30, 1992; the average annual return for the past ten years is 12.8 per cent. $1.4 million of the endowment is unrestricted, and the income can be used for the general purposes of the Society.

Federal funds received in the current fiscal year are $754,674, compared to $510,993 last year for the same period. The increase came primarily from increased grant activity in the Archives and Library divisions.

Income from the sale of goods and services is currently 1.3 per cent less than last year, or a decrease of $30,391. The Historic Sites Division had an increase of $81,994, offset by a drop of $89,028 in the Library and Archives divisions and $22,428 in the Museum Division.

The Society's accounts are audited annually by the Legislative Audit Bureau. The audit for fiscal year 1991–1992 was conducted in May, 1992; the report has not been received. No problems surfaced during the audit. Formerly, Society operations were audited every two or three years, but federal grants require annual audits.

A financial report for the entire fiscal year will be provided to the Board of Curators at their fall meeting, and pie charts based on it are printed in this issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*.

The Director, Dr. H. Nicholas Muller III, began by noting that this was the eighth time he had presented his annual report before friends, associates, and colleagues. The State Historical Society, he believes, is in the best condition in those eight years.

Yet, as in previous reports to the members, going back well over one hundred years, critical issues continue to confront the Society: space, for collections, for patrons, and for staff; and funds, for historic sites, acquisitions, archival processing, museum exhibits, information technology, and publications among the array.

During the past year, the Society has served about 750,000 people through the Library (240,000 patrons used the reading room, an interlibrary loan request processed every ten minutes, a bibliography of African-American newspapers, and the 1920 manuscript census), through the Museum (a World War II exhibit and other temporary exhibits, rising attendance, 160 volunteers, and over one hundred programs offered to the public throughout the year), through the Archives (initiating collecting in reproductive rights issues, court and local records grant program, McCormick Foundation grant to support the F. Gerald Ham Archivist position, new Area Research Center at Superior, and published guide to Wisconsin Jewish Archives), through Historic Preservation (conference on the built environment, tax credit projects lead the region and rank fourth nationally, Wisconsin Markers Council changed and enhanced), through Historic Sites (historic sites management and marketing programs, attendance ahead of tourism trends, comprehensive collections care, and new buildings at Old World Wisconsin and Wade House), through Management Services (information technology system has become largest local area network in state government and minority intern program), and through Development (Annual Contributors Fund has reached a record, planned giving is steadily progressing, a capital campaign is coming along, and public information has garnered more press than ever).

Dr. Muller stated his vision for the State Historical Society is to make history a matter of daily policy and to take programs to the people throughout the state. The Office of School Services will soon become a reality and will make history come alive in the schools and become a conscious part of elementary education. The State Historical Museum continues to interpret our past with a traveling exhibit program. The Wisconsin Black Historical Society and Museum (in Milwaukee) has expanded and

opened its new facility. Major historic preservation projects in Marinette, Appleton, Milwaukee, and Sheboygan, for example, utilizing tax credits have helped revitalize downtowns and neighborhoods.

Your Society in the past year has sponsored several successful conferences, including "Toward a History of the 1960's"; a labor history conference; "Breaking New Ground on Old Buildings" (Historic Architecture and Landscapes in Wisconsin and Minnesota); and "Frederick Jackson Tur-ner: Colonial to National."

Last, but not least, heritage tourism is alive in Wisconsin.

Dr. Muller thanked the legislature and the current administration, the staff, the Board of Curators, and the membership for its genuine and dedicated support throughout the year. For the Society to continue to serve, to put history out in the villages and cities in the state will require continuing cooperation and support. An investment in the past is an investment in the future.

President Hicklin thanked Dr. Muller for an exciting and healthy report on the activities of the Society during the last fiscal year.

There was no old business to come before the membership.

There was no new business to come before the membership.

The meeting adjourned at 9:00 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III
*Secretary*

## Digest of Board Actions

**At Madison, August 28, 1992**

- Adopted the 1993–1995 GPR operating budget request, as circulated and discussed;
- Accepted the 1993–1995 six-year facilities plan, as presented and discussed;
- Voted that the Board of Curators regrets the passing of Paul Vanderbilt, and its pleasure for what he brought to the Society, which was the impetus to make the Society's iconographic collections among the best in the country.

**At Madison, October 23, 1992**

- Accepted the Development Committee report;
- Accepted the Facilities Committee report;
- Accepted the Long Range Planning Committee report;
- Approved the applications for affiliation of the Black Earth Historical Society (Dane County), the Clinton Community Historical Society (Rock County), the Concord Historical Society (Waukesha County), the Gilman Area Historical Society (Taylor County), and the Florence County Historical Society (Florence County);
- Approved the requests for continuance of affiliation (end of probationary period) for the Cambria-Friesland Historical Society (Columbia County) and the Headwaters Historical Society (Eagle River, Vilas County);
- Approved the memorandum of agreement with the Wisconsin Veterans Museum to establish a mutual understanding of collections scope and to govern the deaccession and transfer of certain collections between the State Historical Museum and the Wisconsin Veterans Museum;
- Approved that Section E.1.1 of the Museum Collections Policy be amended to read: "National Collections of numismatic materials and military artifacts dating prior to 1860 will be maintained";
- Approved the following motion: "That

the restricted account, entitled 'Museum Artifact Purchase' established in the Historical Society Trust Fund managed by the State Investment Board be authorized to expend both income and principal for the purchase or conservation of artifacts for the collections of the State Historical Museum;
- Accepted the Nominating Committee report;
- Accepted the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Augmentation of the Office of Local History report;
- Accepted the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Educating Citizens of Wisconsin About the State Historical Society;
- Instructed the director to proceed with the exploration of the concept (Educating Citizens About the State Historical Society), and, further, that the director report any progress to the Board at its February meeting.

**At Milwaukee, February 20, 1993**

- Approved the minutes of the June 11, 1992, Board of Curators meeting at Oshkosh, the August 28, 1992, meeting at Madison, and the October 23, 1992, meeting at Madison;
- Approved the applications for affiliation of the Port Washington Historical Society (Ozaukee County) and the Birchwood Area Historical Society (Washburn County);
- Approved the requests for continuance of affiliation (end of probationary period) of the Onalaska Area Historical Society (La Crosse County), Sheboygan County Historical Research Center (Sheboygan County), and the Westby Area Historical Society (Vernon County);
- Accepted the Museum Division annual collections report (1992) and the 1992 Historic Sites Division report on collections management;
- Accepted the Treasurer's report;
- Re-elected Senator Fred A. Risser, Mr. Wayne McGown, Mr. James R. Underkofler, and Mr. John C. Goodall, Jr., directors of Historic Sites Foundation, Inc., for terms expiring December 31, 1994, or until their successors shall be named;
- Received the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Augmentation of the Office of Local History;
- RESOLVED: The Board of Curators of the State Historical Society meeting in Milwaukee on Saturday, February 20, 1993, strongly supports the reauthorization of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). The NHPRC has played a critical and important role in the rational planning for and preservation of historical records in Wisconsin and throughout the United States and enabled the publication of and public access to the most important materials documenting the history of the world's longest enduring democracy.

**At Lake Geneva, June 3, 1993**

- Approved the minutes of the February 20, 1993, Board of Curators meeting at Milwaukee, as amended;
- Authorized lowering admission fees at the historic sites in response to additional GPR funding as set forth in the memorandum entitled "Treasures in Jeopardy and Steps for Success";
- Approved the "Memorandum of Understanding: Formation of a Statewide Cultural Coalition" between the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Wisconsin Arts Board, Wisconsin Humanities Council, University of Wisconsin Extension, and the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters;
- Adopted the revised Mission Statement;
- Approved the applications for affiliation of the Evansville Grove Society (Rock County) and, further, that the probationary period be waived;
- Approved the applications for affiliation of the Jump River Valley Historical Society (Price County), Land O'Lakes Historical Society (Vilas County), Waukesha Engine Historical Society (Waukesha County), and the Wisconsin State Strings Museum (Marquette County);
- Bestowed upon Dr. William Fletcher

Thompson the distinguished title Honorary Fellow of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin;
- Elected Dr. E. David Cronon to the status of Curator Emeritus;
- Voted that nominations be closed and elected the following officers to serve two-year terms to begin at the adjournment of the 1993 Annual Meeting: President, Dr. Fannie E. Hicklin, Madison; First Vice-president, Mr. Glenn R. Coates, Racine; Second Vice-president, Mrs. Jane Bernhardt, Cassville; Treasurer, Mr. Gerald D. Viste, Wausau;
- Voted that appropriate resolutions be prepared for Mr. and Mrs. William Gage, who hosted the Board of Curators on Thursday evening; retiring curators Mrs. Lynne Webster, Senator Peggy Rosenzweig, and Mr. Errol Kindschi for dedicated service on the Board of Curators; and to the Geneva Lake History Buffs for co-sponsoring the 1993 Annual Meeting.

**Editing Institute**

The twenty-third annual Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents will be held at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison from June 19–30, 1994. Jointly sponsored by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), the State Historical Society, and the University of Wisconsin, the institute will provide detailed theoretical and practical instruction in documentary editing and publication. Further information and application forms are available from the NHPRC (NP), National Archives Building, Washington, DC 20408 (telephone 202-501-5610). The application deadline is March 15, 1994.

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*(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)*

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6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor *(This item MUST NOT be blank)*

Publisher *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

State Historical Society of Wisconsin - 816 State Street - Madison WI 53706

Editor *(Name and Complete Mailing Address)*

Paul H. Hass — same as above

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11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete

Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner

Paul H. Hass 9/28/93

PS Form 3526, January 1991 *(See instructions on reverse)*

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ESTABLISHED in 1954 as a private, nonprofit corporation, the Wisconsin History Foundation has the sole purpose of assisting the State Historical Society in ways mutually agreed upon by the Foundation's Board and the Society's Board of Curators. This assistance supports a wide range of activities for which no public or unbudgeted private funds are available, including research projects, television programs, publications, professional education of staff, and building construction at our historic sites.

The Board of the Foundation includes members of the Society's Board of Curators as well as other distinguished citizens interested in the history of Wisconsin and in the objectives of the Society. The Foundation derives its chief source of income from gifts and grants. Donations to the Foundation are tax-deductible.

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## Historic Sites Foundation

IN 1960 the Historic Sites Foundation was established as a private, non-profit corporation for the sole purpose of assisting the State Historical Society's historic sites program at Baraboo. It currently serves as the management corporation, for the Society, of the Circus World Museum in Baraboo. The Foundation's Board includes members of the Society's Board of Curators as well as distinguished citizens with an interest in circus history and in the Society itself. Its sources of income are Circus World Museum admissions and related revenue, gifts, and grants. Gifts to the Foundation are tax-deductible.

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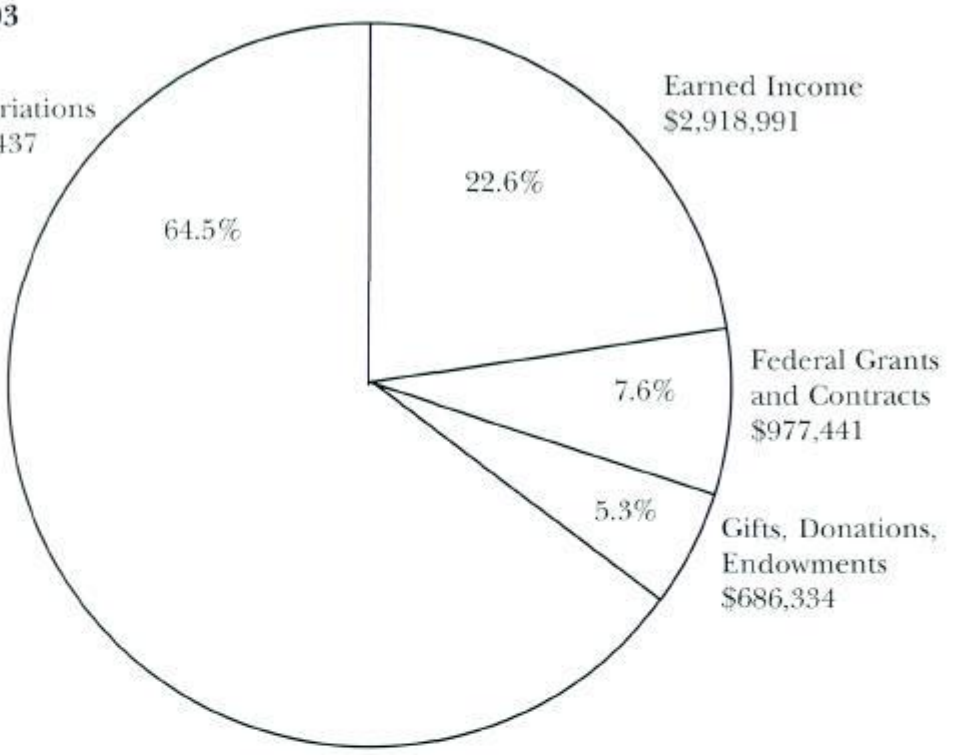
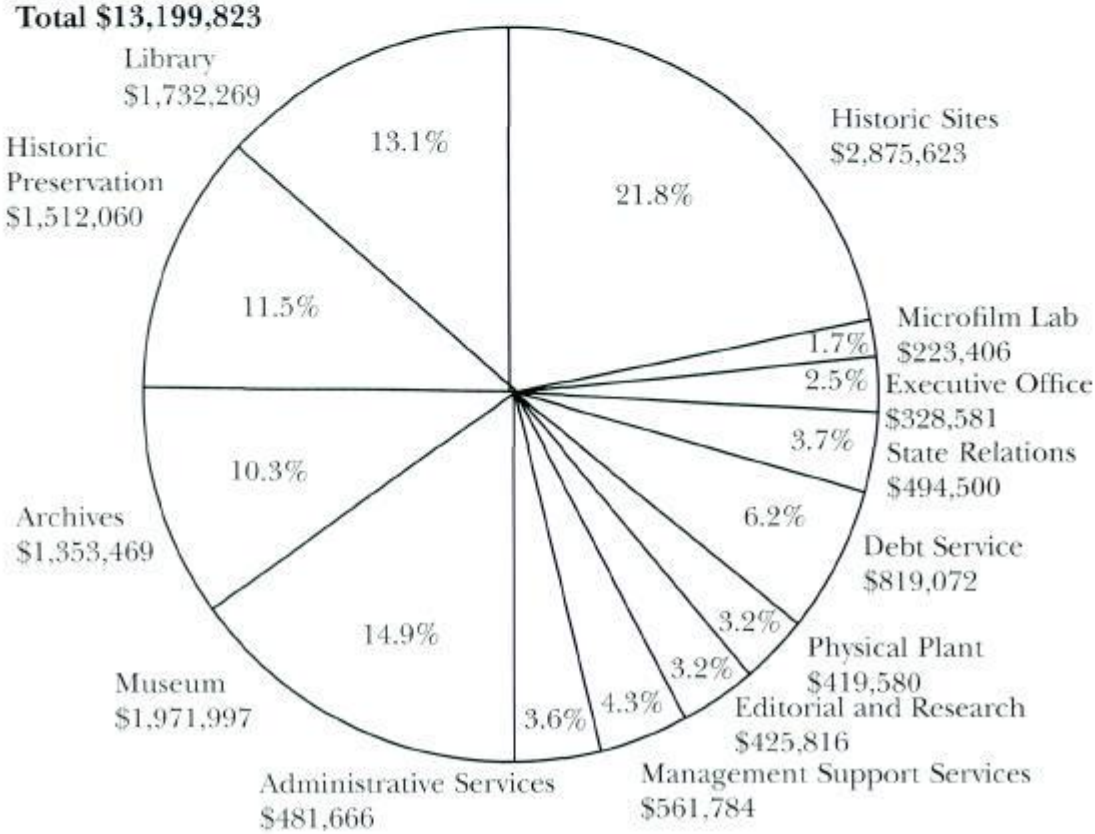
**Revenues (Actual)**
**Total $12,920,203**




**Expenditures (Actual)**
**Total $13,199,823**



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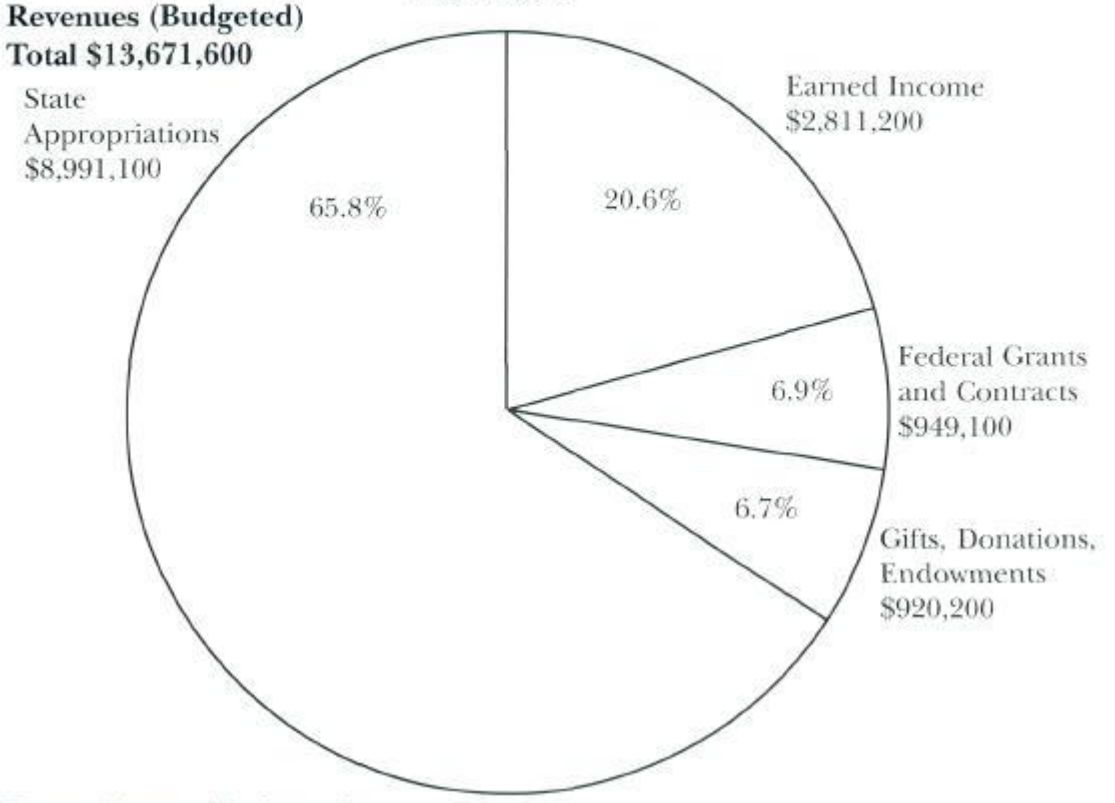
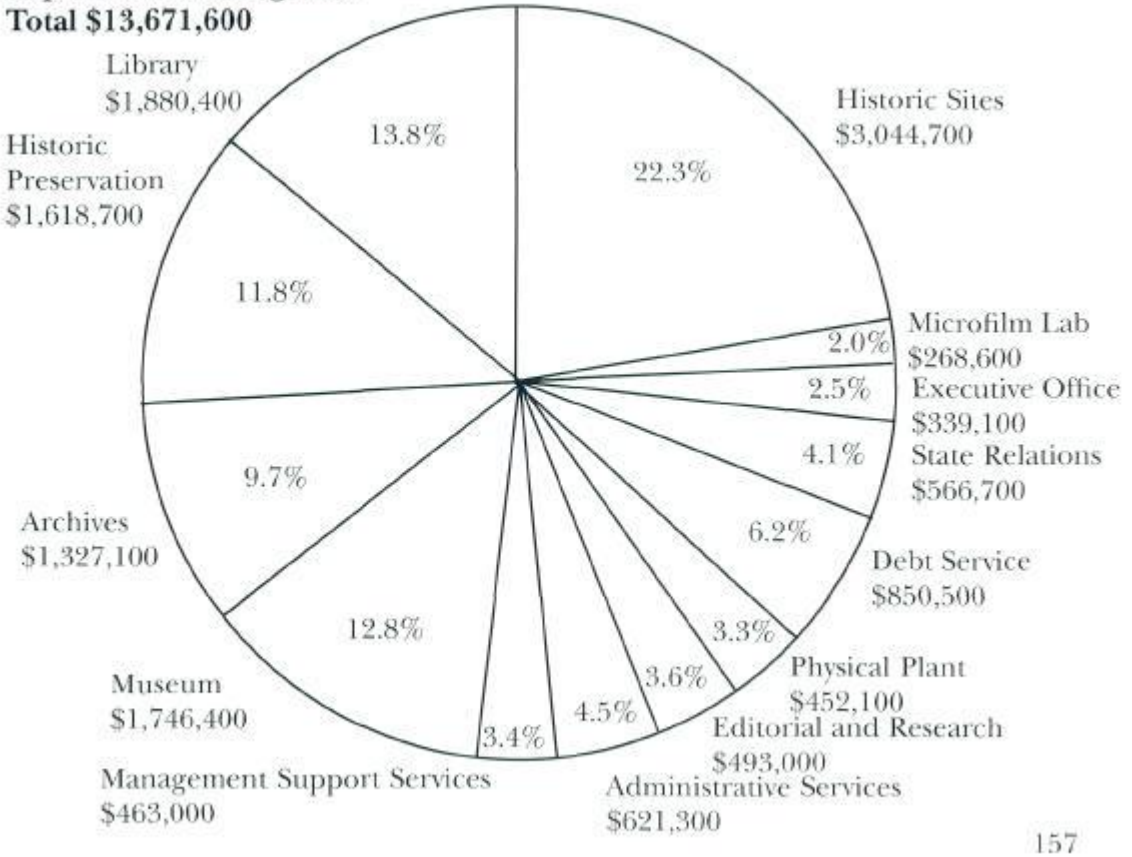
**Revenues (Budgeted)**
**Total $13,671,600**




**Expenditures (Budgeted)**
**Total $13,671,600**



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## Contributors

RICHARD M. FRIED is a professor of history at the University of Illinois at Chicago, where he has taught since 1972. He received his B.A. from Amherst College and his Ph.D. from Columbia University. He is the author of *Men Against McCarthy* (1976) and *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (1990). He comes by his interest in these subjects naturally, having been born and raised in Milwaukee. His research on Mosinee's anti-communist pageant is part of a projected book on patriotic pageantry in the cold-war era.

TOM DOHERTY graduated from Beloit College and attended graduate school at the University of Iowa and the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He taught English at the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire and now works at Central Wisconsin Center in Madison. He has had three articles published in the *Magazine*—"Blitzkrieg for Beginners: The Maneuvers of 1940 in Central Wisconsin," in the Winter, 1984–1985, issue; "Gentle Knight: Edwin Forrest Harding," in the Spring, 1987, issue; and "Too Little, Too Late: Janesville's 'Lost Children' of the Armored Force," in the Summer, 1992, issue.

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*Training in Australia for the New Guinea campaign. An article on the 32nd Division's participation begins on page 109. Photo by E. H. Turnor, from the Lewis E. Sebring Collection.*

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